TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE,

IN THE YEARS

1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, & 1773.

BY

JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, ESQ.

F. R. S.

THE THIRD EDITION,

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

VOL. II.

Chi va lontan da la sua patria vede
 Cose da quel che gia credea lontane,
Che narrandole poi, non si gli crede
 E stimato bugiardo ne rimane,
Che'l volgo sciocco non gli vuol dar fede
 Si non le vede e tocchi, chiare e piane.

ARIOSTO, Orl. Fur. Cant. vii. Stanza 1.

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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK I.

CHAP. V.

Voyage to Upper Egypt continued—Ashmounein, Ruins there—Gawa Kibeer Ruins—Mr Norden mistaken—Achmim—Convent of Catholics—Dendera—Magnificent Ruins—Adventure with a Saint there.

THE Rais's curiosity made him attempt to prevail with me to land at Reremont, three miles and a half off, just a-head of us; this, I understood, was a Coptic Christian town, and many of Shekh Abade's people were Christians also. I thought them too near to have any thing to do with either of them. At Reremont there are a great number of Persian wheels, to draw the water for the sugar canes, which belong to Christians. The water thus brought up from the river runs down to the plantations, below or behind the

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town, after being emptied on the banks above; a proof that here the descent from the mountains is not an optic fallacy, as Dr Shaw says.

We passed Ashmounein*, probably the ancient Latopolis, a large town, which gives the name to the province, where there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture; and, after that, we came to Melawé, larger, better built, and better inhabited than Ashmounein, the residence of the Casheff. Mahomet Aga was there at that time with troops from Cairo; he had taken Miniet, and, by the friendship of Shekh Hamam, the great Arab, governor of Upper Egypt, he kept all the people on that side of the river in their allegiance to Ali Bey.

I had seen him at Cairo, and Risk had spoken to him to do me service if he met with me, which he promised. I called at Melawé to complain of our treatment at Shekh Abadé, and see if I could engage him, as he had nothing else to employ him, to pay a visit to my friends at that inhospitable place. This I was told he would do upon the slightest intimation.

* Ashmounein, in Arabic, signifies Shmoun duplex, or the two Shmouns from Shmoun, in Egyptian, signifying eight. These cities were named after Smin, or Smoun, the eighth and last of the Egyptian Dii Majores. This Deity was the Sun, considered as the generative power of Nature, and accordingly distinguished by the title Entes, or Mentes, "the Propagator." The symbol of the god was a live he-goat; and his image was a goat standing upright. Mentes, or Mendes, was worshipped with great immorality in the Mendesian nome in the Delta. Under the name Entes, or Antæus, he was revered at Antæopolis in the Thebaid; at Shmun, the present Ashmunin; and likewise at another Shmun, called by the Greeks, who could not pronounce the Egyptian sh, Chemmis, Chemmopolis, or Panopolis, to day Achmîm. Mendes was the Grecian Pan, whose hairy figure, goat's legs, and cloven hoofs, have assisted the Christian vulgar in forming their pictures of the *Devil*.—E.

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He, unfortunately, however, happened to be out upon some party; but I was lucky in getting an old Greek, a servant of his, who knew I was a friend, both to the Bey, and to his Patriarch.

He brought me about a gallon of brandy, and a jar of lemons and oranges, preserved in honey; both very agreeable. He brought likewise a lamb, and some garden-stuffs. Among the sweetmeats was some horse-raddish, preserved like ginger, which certainly, though it might be wholesome, was the very worst stuff I ever tasted. I gave a good square piece of it, well wrapt in honey, to the Rais, who coughed and spit half an hour after, crying he was poisoned.

I saw he did not wish me to stay at Melawé, as he was afraid of the Bey's troops, that they might engage him in their service to carry them down, so went away with great good will, happy in the acquisition of the brandy, declaring he would carry sail as long as the wind held.

We passed Mollé, a small village, with a great number of acacia trees, intermixed with the plantations of palms. These occasion a pleasing variety, not only from the difference of the shape of the tree, but also from the colour and diversity of the green.

As the sycamore in Lower Egypt, so this tree seems to be the only indigenous one in the Thebaid. It is the Acacia Vera, or the Spino Egyptiaca, with a round yellow flower. The male is called the Saiel *; from it proceeds the gum arabic, upon incision with an ax. This gum chiefly comes from Arabia Petrea, where these trees are most numerous. But it

* The name, Sont, is Coptic, as is Saiel; it signifies hard.—This is the shittim wood of the scriptures; shittim is the plural, and means trees of the acacia. It is peculiar to the Hebrew dialect of the Arabic to leave out the letter *n*, before consonants.—E.

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is the tree of all deserts, from the northmost part of Arabia, to the extremity of Ethiopia, and its leaves the only food for camels travelling in those desert parts. This gum is called Sumach in the west of Africa, and is a principal article of trade on the Senega among the Yalofes.

A large plantation of dates reaches all along the west side, and ends in a village, called Masara. Here the river, though broad, happened to be very shallow; and by the violence with which we went, we stuck upon a sand bank so fast, that it was after sunset before we could get off; we came to an anchor opposite to Masara the night of the 19th of December.

On the 20th, early in the morning, we again set sail, and passed two villages, the first called Welled Behi, the next Salem, about a mile and a half distant from each other, on the west side of the Nile. The mountains on the west side of the valley are about sixteen miles off, in a high even ridge, running in a direction south-east; while the mountains on the east run in a parallel direction with the river, and are not three miles distant.

We passed Deirout on the east side, and another called Zohor, in the same quarter, surrounded with palms; then, Siradé on the east side also, where is a wood of the Acacia, which seems very luxuriant; and, though it was now December, and the mornings especially very cold, the trees were in full flower. We passed Monfalout *, a large town on the western shore. It was once an old Egyptian town, and place of great

* Deirout and Monfalout are both Coptic names, the first having before it the feminine article, *ti*, which the Arabs uniformly pronounce *d*: and the last *Ma*, which signifies the place. They were probably written Ti-eroouti and Ma-m-faloout.—E.

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trade; it was ruined by the Romans, but re-established by the Arabs.

An Arabian * author says, that, digging under the foundation of an Egyptian temple here, they found a crocodile made of lead, with hieroglyphics upon it, which they imagined to be a talisman, to prevent crocodiles from passing further. Indeed, as yet, we had not seen any; that animal delights in heat; and, as the mornings were very cold, he keeps himself to the southward. The valley of Egypt here is about eight miles from mountain to mountain.

We passed Siout, another large town, built with the remains of the ancient city Isiu †. It is some miles inland, upon the side of a large calish, over which there is an ancient bridge. This was formerly the station of the caravan for Sennaar. They assembled at Monfalout and Siout, under the protection of a Bey residing there. They then passed nearly south-west, into the sandy desert of Libya, to El Wah, the Oasis Magna of antiquity, and so into the great desert of Selima.

Three miles beyond Siout, the wind turned directly south, so we were obliged to stay at Tima the rest of the 20th. I was weary of continuing in the boat, and went on shore at Tima. It is a small town, surrounded like the rest with groves of palm-trees. Below Tima is Bandini, three miles on the east side. The Nile is here full of sandy islands. Those that the inundation has first left are all sown; these are chiefly on the east. The others on the west were barren and uncultivated: all of them mostly composed of sand.

I walked into the desert behind the village, and shot

* Messoudi.

† Itin. Anton. p. 14. apud Bertii Theat. Geo. Vet.; Sioout is rather Lycopolis, so called by the Greeks, from the wolf being worshipped there.

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a considerable number of the bird called Gooto, and several hares, likewise, so that I sent one of my servants loaded to the boat. I then walked down past a small village called Nizelet el Himma, and returned by a still smaller one called Shuka, about a quarter of a mile from Tima. I was exceedingly fatigued with the heat by the south wind * blowing, and the deep sand on the side of the mountain. I was then beginning my apprenticeship, which I fully completed.

The people in these villages were in appearance little less miserable than those of the villages we had passed. They seemed shy and surly at first, but, upon conversation, became placid enough. I bought some medals of them of no value, and my servants telling them I was a physician, I gave my advice to several of the sick. This reconciled them perfectly. They brought me fresh water and some sugar-canes, which they split and steeped in it. If they were satisfied, I was very much so. They told me of a large scene of ruins that was about four miles distant, and offered to send a person to conduct me; but I did not accept their offer, as I had to pass there next day.

The 21st, in the morning, we came to Gawa, where is the second scene of ruins of Egyptian architecture, after leaving Cairo. I immediately went on shore, and found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. They seemed by that, and their slight proportions, to be of the most modern of that species of building; but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics, the old story over again, the hawk and the serpent, the man sitting with the dog's head, with the

* It is called Hamseen, because it is expected to blow all Pentecost.

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perch, or measuring-rod; in one hand, the hemisphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the banana-tree, as is supposed, in the other. The temple is filled with rubbish and dung of cattle, which the Arabs bring in here to shelter them from the heat.

Mr Norden says, that these are the remains of the ancient Diospolis Parva; but, though very loth to differ from him, and without the least desire of criticising, I cannot here be of his opinion. For Ptolemy, I think, makes Diospolis Parva about lat. 26° 40′, and Gawa is 27°, 20′, which is by much too great a difference*.

There are two villages of this name opposite to one another; the one Gawa Shergieh, which means the Eastern Gawa, and this is by much the largest; the other Gawa Garbieh. Several authors, not knowing the meaning of these terms, call it Gawa Gebery; a word that has no signification whatever, but Garbieh means the western.

I was very well pleased to see here, for the first time, two shepherd dogs lapping up the water from the stream, then lying down in it with great seeming leisure and satisfaction. It refuted the old fable, that the dogs living on the banks of the Nile run as they drink, for fear of the crocodile.

All around the villages of Gawa Garbieh, and the plantations belonging to them, Meshta and Raany, with theirs also joining them (that is all the west side of the river) are cultivated and sown from the very foot of the mountains to the water's edge, the grain being thrown upon the mud as soon as ever the wa-

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* The latitudes of places in the Thebaid, as laid down by Ptolemy, and the modern geographers, differ in many instances considerably.—E.

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ter has left it. The wheat was, at this time, about four inches in length.

We passed three villages, Shaftour, Commawhaia, and Zinedi; we anchored off Shaftour, and within sight of Taahta. Taahta is a large village, and in it are several mosques. On the east is a mountain called Jibbel Heredy, from a Turkish saint, who was turned into a snake, has lived several hundred years, and is to live for ever. As Christians, Moors, and Turks, all faithfully believe in this; the consequence is, that abundance of nonsense is daily writ and told concerning it. Mr Norden discusses is at large, and afterwards gravely tells us, he does not believe it; in which I certainly must heartily join him, and recommend to my readers to do the same, without reading any thing about it.

On the 22d, at night, we arrived at Achmim. I landed my quadrant and instruments, with the view of observing an eclipse of the moon; but, immediately after her rising, clouds and mist so effectually covered the whole heavens, that it was not even possible to catch a star of any size passing the meridian.

Achmim is a very considerable place. It belonged once to an Arab prince of that name, who possessed it by a grant from the Grand Signior, for a certain revenue to be paid yearly. That family is now extinct; and another Arab prince, Hamam Shekh of Furshout, now rents it for his lifetime, from the Grand Signior, with all the country (except Girgé) from Siout to Luxor.

The inhabitants of Achmim are of a very yellow, unhealthy appearance, probably owing to the bad air, occasioned by a very dirty calish that passes through the town. There are, likewise, a great many trees, bushes, and gardens, about the stagnant water, all which increase the bad quality of the air.

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There is here what is called a Hospice, or Convent of religious Franciscans, for the entertainment of the converts, or persecuted Christians in Nubia, when they can find them. This institution I shall speak of at large in the sequel. One of the last princes of the house of Medicis, all patrons of learning, proposed to furnish them with a complete observatory, and the most perfect and expensive instruments; but they refused them, from a scruple lest it should give umbrage to the natives. The fear that it should expose their own ignorance and idleness, I must think, entered a little into the consideration.

They received us civilly, and that was just all. I think I never knew a number of priests met together, who differed so little in capacity and knowledge, having barely a routine of scholastic disputation: on every other subject inconceivably ignorant. But I understood afterwards, that they were low men, all Italians; some of them had been barbers, and some of them tailors at Milan; they affected to be all Anti-Copernicans, upon scripture principles, for they knew no other astronomy.

These priests lived in great ease and safety, were much protected and favoured by this Arab prince Hamam; and their acting as physicians reconciled them to the people. They told me there were about eight hundred catholics in the town; but I believe the fifth part of that number would never have been found, even such catholics as they are. The rest of them were Cophts, and Moors, but very few of the latter, so that the missionaries live perfectly unmolested.

There was a manufactory of coarse cotton cloth in the town, to a considerable extent; and a great quantity of poultry, esteemed the best in Egypt, was bred here and sent down to Cairo. The reason is plain; the great export from Achmim is wheat; all the country about it is sown with that grain, and the

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crops are superior to any in Egypt. Thirty-two grains pulled from the ear was equal to forty-nine of the best Barbary wheat gathered in the same season; a prodigious disproportion, if it held throughout. The wheat, however, was not much more forward in Upper Egypt, than that lower down the country, or farther northward. It was little more than four inches high, and sown down to the very edge of the water.

The people here wisely pursuing agriculture, so as to produce wheat in the greatest quantity, have dates only about their houses, and a few plantations of sugar-cane near their gardens. As soon as they have reaped their wheat, they sow for another crop, before the sun has drained the moisture from the ground. Great plenty of excellent fish is caught here at Achmim, particularly a large one called the Binny, a figure of which I have given in the Appendix. I have seen them about four feet long, and one foot and a half broad.

The people seemed to be very peaceable, and well disposed, but of little curiosity. They expressed not the least surprise at seeing my large quadrant and telescopes mounted. We passed the night in our tent upon the river side, without any sort of molestation, though the men are reproached with being very great thieves. But seeing, I suppose, by our lights, that we were awake, they were afraid

The women seldom marry after sixteen; we saw several with child, who said they were not eleven years old. Yet I did not observe that the men were less in size, less vigorous and active in body, than in other places. This one would not imagine, from the appearance these young wives make. They are little better coloured than a corpse, and look older at sixteen, than many English women at sixty, so that you are to look for beauty here in childhood only.

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Achmim * appears to be the Panopolis of the ancients, not only by its latitude, but also by an inscription of a very large triumphal arch, a few hundred yards south of the convent. It is built with marble by the emperor Nero, and dedicated in a Greek inscription, ΠΑΝΙ ΘΕΩ. The columns that were in its front are broken and thrown away; the arch itself is either sunk into the ground, or overturned on the side, with little separation of the several pieces.

The 24th of December we left Achmim, and came to the village Shekh Ali on the west, two miles and a quarter distant. We then passed Hamdi, about the same distance farther south; Aboudarac and Salladi on the east; then Salladi Garbieh, and Salladi Shergieh on the east and west, as the names import; and a number of villages, almost opposite, on each side of the river.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at Girgé, the largest town we had seen since we left Cairo; which, by the latitude Ptolemy has very rightly placed it in, should be the Diospolis Parva, and not Gawa, as Mr Norden makes it. For this we know is the beginning of the Diospolitan nome, and is near a remarkable crook of the Nile, as it should be. It is also on the western side of the river, as Diospolis was, and at a proper distance from Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, a mark which cannot be mistaken.

The Nile makes a kind of loop here; is very broad, and the current strong. We passed it with a wind at north; but the waves ran high as in the ocean. All the country, on both sides of the Nile, to Girgé, is but

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* Anciently Chemmis or Chommo; in Coptic *Smin*, vide Kircher. Ling. Aeg. Rest. p. 210. Chemmis is the Greek way of writing Djomo or Jom, the name of a deity called by the Greeks Hercules. The word in Coptic signifies strong. Chemmis was the city of Jom.

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one continued grove of palm-trees, in which are several villages a small distance from each other, Doulani, Consaed, Deirout, and Berdis, on the west side; Welled Hallifi, and Beni Haled, on the east.

The villages have all a very picturesque appearance among the trees, from the many pigeon-houses that are on the tops of them. The mountains on the east begin to depart from the river, and those on the west to approach nearer it. It seems to me, that, soon, the greatest part of Egypt on the east side of the Nile, between Achmim and Cairo, will be desert; not from the rising of the ground by the mud, as is supposed, but from the quantity of sand from the mountains, which covers the mould or earth several feet deep. This 24th of December, at night, we anchored between two villages, Beliani and Mobanniny.

Next morning, the 25th, impatient to visit the greatest and most magnificent scene of ruins that are in Upper Egypt, we set out from Beliani, and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrived at Dendera. Although we had heard that the people of this place were the very worst in Egypt, we were not very apprehensive. We had two letters from the Bey to the two principal men there, commanding them, as they should answer with their lives and fortunes, to have a special care that no mischief befel us; and likewise a very pressing letter to Shekh Hamam at Furshout, in whose territory we were.

I pitched my tent by the river side, just above our bark, and sent a message to the two principal people, first to the one, then to the other, desiring them to send a proper person, for I had to deliver to them the commands of the Bey. I did not choose to trust these letters with our boatman; and Dendera is near half a mile from the river. The two men came after some delay, and brought each of them a sheep; received

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the letters, went back with great speed, and soon after returned with a horse, and three asses, to carry me to the ruins.

Dendera is * a considerable town at this day, all covered with thick groves of palm-trees, the same that Juvenal describes it to have been in his time. Juvenal himself must have seen it, at least once, in passing, as he is said to have died in a kind of honourable exile at Syene, whilst in command there.

> *Terga fugæ celeri præstantibus omnibus instant,*
> *Qui vicina colunt umbrosæ Tentyra palmæ.*
>
> Juv. *Sat.* 15. v. 75.

This place is governed by a casheff appointed by Shekh Hamam. A mile south of the town, are the ruins of two temples, one of which is so much buried under ground, that little of it is to be seen: but the other, which is by far the most magnificent, is entire, and accessible on every side. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, both within and without, all in relief; and of every figure, simple and compound, that ever has been published, or called an hieroglyphic.

The form of the building is an oblong square, the ends of which are occupied by two large apartments,

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* Dendera, the Τιντυρα or Τεντυρα of the Greeks, and Tentyra of the Latins, was called in Egyptian *Tu-nosher*, the she-vulture, or perhaps eagle, for what reason it is uncertain. The crocodile (*sah* or *souch*, *amsah*, and with the feminine article *tamsah*), was detested in this town. M. de Non, who visited Tentyra, in Desaix's detachment of the French army, gives several views of the ruins of the greater temple. This immense structure is an immortal monument of native Egyptian architecture. Yet there are some well-grounded reasons for believing that the edifices at Tentyra are not older than the Greek or even the Roman period of history. The zodiac seems to be Graeco-Egyptian.—E.

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or vestibules, supported by monstrous columns, all covered with hieroglyphics likewise. Some are in the form of men and beasts; some seem to be the figures of instruments of sacrifice; while others, in a smaller size, and less distinct shape, seem to be inscriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics, of which I shall speak at large afterwards. They are all finished with great care.

The capitals are of one piece, and consist of four huge human heads, placed back to back against one another, with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined, and worse-executed, fold of drapery between them.

Above these is a large oblong square block, still larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, disposed like pannels, that is, with a kind of square border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics; as are the walls and ceilings of every part of the temple. Between these two apartments in the extremities, there are three other apartments resembling the first, in every respect, only they are smaller.

The whole building is of common white stone, from the neighbouring mountains; only those two in which have been sunk the pirns for hanging the outer doors (for it seems they had doors even in those days), are of granite, or black and blue porphyry.

The top of the temple is flat, the spouts to carry off the water are monstrous heads of sphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two serpents, with a kind of shield or breastplate between them, are here frequently repeated, such as we see them on the Carthaginian medals.

The hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring yet remains upon the stones; red, in all its shades, especially that dark dusky colour,

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called Tyrian Purple; yellow, very fresh; sky-blue (that is, near the blue of an eastern sky), several shades lighter than ours; green of different shades: these are all the colours preserved.

I could discover no vestiges of common houses in Dendera, more than in any other of the great towns in Egypt. I suppose the common houses of the ancients, in these warm countries, were constructed of very slight materials, after they left their caves in the mountains. There was indeed no need for any other. Not knowing the regularity of the Nile's inundation, they never could be perfectly secure in their own minds against the deluge; and this slight structure of private buildings seems to be the reason so few of these ruins are found in the many cities once built in Egypt. If there ever were any other buildings, they must be now covered with the white sand from the mountains; for the whole plain to the foot of these is overflowed, and in cultivation. It was no part, either of my plan or inclination, to enter into the detail of this extraordinary architecture. Quantity, and solidity, are two principal requisites that are seen here, with a vengeance.

It strikes and imposes on you, at first sight, but the impressions are like those made by the size of mountains, which the mind does not retain for any considerable time after seeing them. I think, a very ready hand might spend six months, from morning to night, before he could copy the hieroglyphics in the inside of the temple. They are, however, in several combinations, which have not appeared in the collections of hieroglyphics. I wonder that, being in the neighbourhood, as we are, of Lycopolis, we never see a wolf as an hieroglyphic; and few, indeed, but what have some affinity to water; yet the wolf is upon all

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the medals, from which I apprehend that the worship of the wolf was but a modern superstition.

Dendera stands on the edge of a small, but fruitful plain; the wheat was thirteen inches high, now at Christmas; their harvest is in the end of March. The valley is not above five miles wide, from mountain to mountain. Here we first saw the Doom-tree in great profusion growing among the palms, from which it is scarcely distinguishable at a distance. It is the Palma Thebaica Cuciofera*. Its stone is like that of a peach covered with a black bitter pulp, which resembles a walnut over ripe.

A little before we came to Dendera, we saw the first crocodile, and afterwards hundreds, lying upon every island, like large flocks of cattle; yet the inhabitants of Dendera drive their beasts of every kind into the river, and they stand there for hours. The girls and women too, that come to fetch water in jars, stand up to their knees in the water for a considerable time; and if we guess by what happens, their danger is full as little as their fear; for none of them, that ever I heard of, had been bit by a crocodile. However, if the Denderites were as keen and expert hunters of crocodiles, as some † historians tell us they were formerly, there is surely no part in the Nile, where they would have better sport, than here immediately before their own city.

Having made some little acknowledgment to those who had conducted me through the ruins in great safety, I returned to the canja, or rather to my tent, which I placed in the first firm ground. I saw at some distance, a well-dressed man, with a white tur-

* Theophrast. Hist. Plan. lib. iii. cap. 8.—lib. iv. cap. 2.
† Strabo, lib. vii. p. 941.

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ban, and yellow shawl covering it, and a number of ill-looking people about him. As I thought this was some quarrel among the natives, I took no notice of it, but went to my tent, in order to rectify my quadrant for observation.

As soon as our Rais saw me enter my tent, he came with expressions of very great indignation. "What signifies it," said he, "that you are a friend of the Bey, have letters to every body, and are at the door of Furshout, if yet a man is here that will take your boat away from you?"

"Softly, softly," I answered, "Hassan; he may be in the right. If Ali Bey, Shekh Hamam, or any body want a boat for public service, I must yield mine. Let us hear."

"Shekh Hamam and Ali Bey!" says he; "why it is a fool, an idiot, and an ass; a fellow that goes begging about, and says he is a saint; but he is a natural fool, full as much knave as fool, however; he is a thief, I know him to be a thief."

"If he is a saint," said I, "Hagi Hassan, as you are another, known to be so all the world over, I don't see why I should interfere; saint against saint is a fair battle."—"It is the cadi," replies he, "and no one else."

"Come away with me," said I, "Hassan, and let us see this cadi; if it is the cadi, it is not the fool, it may be the knave."

He was sitting upon the ground on a carpet, moving his head backwards and forwards, and saying prayers with beads in his hand. I had no good opinion of him from his first appearance, but said *Salam alicum*, boldly; this seemed to offend him, as he looked at me with great contempt, and gave me no answer, though he appeared a little disconcerted by my confidence.

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"Are you the *Cafr*," said he, "to whom that boat belongs?"

"No, Sir," said I, "it belongs to Hagi Hassan."

"Do you think," says he, "I call Hagi Hassan, who is a Sherriffe, *Cafr?*"

"That depends upon the measure of your prudence," said I, "of which, as yet, I have no proof that can enable me to judge or decide."

"Are you the *Christian* that was at the ruins in the morning?" says he.

"I was at the ruins in the morning," replied I, "and *I am a Christian*. Ali Bey calls that denomition of people *Nazarani*, that is the Arabic of Cairo and Constantinople, and I understand no other."

"I am," said he, "going to Girgé, and this holy saint is with me, and there is no boat but your's bound that way, for which reason I have promised to take him with me."

By this time the *saint* had got into the boat, and sat forward; he was an ill-favoured, low, sick-like man, and seemed to be almost blind.

"You should not make rash promises," said I to the cadi, "for this one you made you never can perform; I am not going to Girgé. Ali Bey, *whose slave you are*, gave me this boat, but told me, I was not to ship either saints or cadies. There is my boat, go a-board if you dare; and you, Hagi Hassan, let me see you lift an oar, or loose a sail, either for the cadi or the saint, if I am not with them."

I went to my tent, and the Rais followed me. "Hagi Hassan," said I, "there is a proverb in my country, It is better to flatter fools than to fight them: Cannot you go to the fool, and give him half-a-crown? will he take it, do you think, and abandon his journey to Girgé? afterwards leave me to settle with the cadi for his voyage thither."

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"He will take it with all his heart; he will kiss your hand for half-a-crown," says Hassan.

"Let him have half-a-crown from me," said I, "and desire him to go about his business, and intimate that I give him it in charity, at the same time expect compliance with the condition."

In the interim, a Christian Copht came into the tent. "Sir," said he, "you don't know what you are doing; the cadi is a great man; give him his present, and have done with him."

"When he behaves better, it will be time enough for that," said I. "If you are a friend of his, advise him to be quiet, before an order comes from Cairo by a Serach, and carries him thither. Your countryman, Risk, would not give me the advice you do."

"Risk!" says he; "Do you know Risk?" "Is not that Risk's writing," said I, shewing him a letter from the Bey. "Wallah! (by God) it is," says he; and away he went without speaking a word further.

The saint had taken his half-crown, and had gone away singing, it being now near dark.—The cadi went away, and the mob dispersed, and we directed a Moor to cry, That all people should, in the night time, keep away from the tent, or they would be fired at. A stone or two were afterwards thrown, but did not reach us.

I finished my observation, and ascertained the latitude of Dendera; then packed up my instruments and sent them on board.

Mr Norden seems greatly to have mistaken the position of this town, which, conspicuous and celebrated as it is by ancient authors, and justly a principal point of attention to modern travellers, he does not so much as describe; and, in his map, he places Dendera twenty or thirty miles to the southward of Badjoura; whereas it is about nine miles to the north-

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ward. For Badjoura is in lat. 26° 3′ 16″, and Dendera is in 26° 10′.

It is a great pity, that he, who had a taste for this very remarkable kind of architecture, should have passed it, both in going up and coming down; as it is, beyond comparison, a place that would have given him more satisfaction than all Upper Egypt.

While we were striking our tent, a great mob came down, but without the cadi. As I ordered all my people to take their arms in their hands, they kept at a very considerable distance; but the fool, or saint, got into the boat with a yellow flag in his hand, and sat down at the foot of the main-mast, saying, with an idiot smile, "That we should fire, for he was out of the reach of the shot." Some stones were thrown, but did not reach us.

I ordered two of my servants, with large brass ship-blunderbusses, very bright and glittering, to get upon the top of the cabin. I then pointed a wide-mouthed Swedish blunderbuss from one of the windows, and cried out, "Have a care! the next stone that is thrown, I fire my cannon amongst you, which will sweep away three hundred of you instantly from the face of the earth;" though, I believe, there were not above two hundred then present.

I ordered Hagi Hassan to cast off his cord immediately; and, as soon as the blunderbuss appeared, away ran every one of them, and, before they could collect themselves to return, our vessel was in the middle of the stream. The wind was fair, though not very fresh, on which we set both our sails, and made great way.

The saint, who had been singing all the time we were disputing, began now to shew some apprehensions for his own safety. He asked Hagi Hassan, if this was the way to Girgé? and had for answer, "Yes, it is the fool's way to Girgé."

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We carried him about a mile, or more, up the river; then, a convenient landing-place offering, I asked him, whether he had got my money, or not, last night? He said, he had for yesterday, but he had got none for to-day. " Now, the next thing I have to ask you," said I, " is, Will you go ashore of your own accord, or will you be thrown into the Nile?" He answered, with great confidence, " Do you know that, at my word, I can fix your boat to the bottom of the Nile, and make it grow a tree there for ever?" " Aye," says Hagi Hassan, " and make oranges and lemons grow on it, likewise, can't you? You are a cheat." " Come, sirs," said I, " lose no time, and put him out." I thought he had been blind and weak; and the boat was not within three feet of the shore, when, placing one foot upon the gunnel, he leaped clean upon land.

We slacked our vessel down the stream a few yards, filling our sails, and stretching away. Upon seeing this, our saint fell into a desperate passion, cursing, blaspheming, and stamping with his feet, at every word, crying, " Shar Ullah!" *i. e.* may God send, and do justice. Our people began to taunt and gibe him, asking him, if he would have a pipe of tobacco to warm him, as the morning was very cold; but I bade them be content. It was curious to see him, as far as we could decern, sometimes sitting down, sometimes jumping and skipping about, and waving his flag, then running about a hundred yards, as if it were after us; but always returning, though at a slower pace.

None of the rest followed. He was, indeed, apparently the tool of that rascal the cadi, and, after his designs were frustrated, nobody cared what became of him. He was left in the lurch, as those of his character generally are, after serving the purpose of knaves.

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CHAP. VI.

Arrive at Furshout—Adventure of Friar Christopher—Visit Thebes—'Luxor and Carnac—Large Ruins at Edfu and Esné—Proceed on our Voyage.

We arrived happily at Furshout that same forenoon, and went to the convent of Italian Friars, who, like those of Achmim, are of the order of the reformed Franciscans, of whose mission I shall speak at large in the sequel.

We were received more kindly here than at Achmim; but Padre Antonio, superior of the last convent, upon which that of Furshout also depends, following us, our good reception suffered a small abatement. In short the good Friars would not let us buy meat, because they said it would be a shame and reproach to them; and they would not give us any, for fear that should be a reproach to them likewise, if it was told in Europe they lived well.

After some time, I took the liberty of providing for myself, to which they submitted with Christian patience. Yet, these convents were founded expressly with a view, and from a necessity of providing for travellers between Egypt and Ethiopia, and we were strictly entitled to that entertainment. Indeed, there is very little use for this institution in Upper Egypt, as long as rich Arabs are there, much more charitable and humane to stranger Christians than the monks.

Furshout is in a large and cultivated plain. It is

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nine miles over to the foot of the mountains, all sown with wheat. There are, likewise, plantations of sugar-canes along the banks of the river. The town, as they said, contains about 10,000 people, but I have no doubt this computation is rather exaggerated.

We waited upon the Shekh Hamam, who was a big, tall, handsome man; I apprehend not far from sixty. He was dressed in a large fox-skin pelisse over the rest of his clothes, and had a yellow India shawl wrapt about his head, like a turban. He received me with great politeness and condescension, made me sit down by him, and asked me more questions about Cairo than about Europe.

The Rais had told him our adventure with the saint, at which he laughed very heartily, saying, I was a wise man, and a man of conduct. To me he only said, "They are bad people at Dendera;" to which I answered, "There were very few places in the world in which there were not some bad." He replied, "Your observation is true; but there they are all bad; rest yourselves, however, here, it is a quiet place; though there are still some even here not quite so good as they ought to be."

The Shekh was a man of immense riches, and, little by little, had united in his own person, all the separate districts of Upper Egypt, each of which formerly had its particular prince. But his interest was great at Constantinople, where he applied directly for what he wanted, insomuch as to give a jealousy to the Beys of Cairo. He had in farm from the Grand Signior almost the whole country, between Siout and Syene, or Assouan. I believe this is the Shekh of Upper Egypt, whom Mr Irvine speaks of so gratefully. He was betrayed, and murdered some time after, by one of the Beys, whom he had protected in his own country.

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While we were at Furshout, there happened a very extraordinary phenomenon. It rained the whole night, and till about nine o'clock next morning; and the people began to be very apprehensive lest the town should be destroyed. It is a perfect prodigy to see rain here; and the prophets said it portended a dissolution of government, which was justly verified soon afterwards, and, at that time, indeed, it was extremely probable.

Furshout * is in lat. 26° 3′ 30″; above that, to the southward, on the same plain, is another large village, belonging to Shekh Ismael, a nephew of Shekh Hamam. It is *a large town*, built with clay, like Furshout, and surrounded with groves of palm trees, and very large plantations of sugar canes. Here, they make sugar.

Shekh Ismael was a very pleasant and agreeable man, but in bad health, having a violent asthma, and sometimes pleuritic complaints, to be removed by bleeding only. He had given these friars a house for a convent in Badjoura; but as they had not yet taken possession of it, he desired me to come and stay there; but I preferred, for some of the first days, to stay at Furshout.

Friar Christopher, whom I understood to have been a Milanese barber, was his physician, but he had not the science of an English barber in surgery. He could not bleed, but with a sort of instrument resembling that which is used in cupping, only that it had but a single lancet; with this he had been lucky enough as yet to escape laming his patients. This bleeding instrument they call the Tabange, or the Pistol, as they do the cupping instrument likewise. I

* Coptic Phi-er-siδout.

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never could help shuddering at seeing the confidence with which this man placed a small brass box upon all sorts of arms, and drew the trigger for the point to go where fortune pleased.

Shekh Ismael was very fond of this surgeon, and the surgeon of his patron; all would have gone well, had not Friar Christopher aimed likewise at being an astronomer. Above all, he gloried in being a violent enemy to the Copernican system, which unluckily he had mistaken for a heresy in the church; and partly from his own slight ideas and stock of knowledge, partly from some Milanese almanacks he had got, he had attempted once, while the weather happened to be cloudy, to foretel the time of the moon's changing; and he had unluckily fallen upon the month Ramadan, the Mahometan fast.

The Badjoura people, and their Shekh Ismael, were already upon indifferent terms with Hamam, and his men of Furshout; and being desirous to get a triumph over their neighbours by the help of their friar Christopher, they continued to eat, drink, and smoke, two days after the conjunction.

The moon had already been seen, it was said, by a Fakir *, in the desert, who had sent word to Shekh Hamam, and he had begun his fast. But Ismael, assured by Friar Christopher that this was impossible, had continued eating.

The people of Furshout, meeting their neighbours singing and dancing, and with pipes of tobacco in their mouths, all cried out with astonishment, and asked, "Whether they had abjured their religion or not?" From words, they came to blows; seven or eight were wounded on each side, luckily none of them

* A poor saint.

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mortally; and Hamam had come to inquire of his nephew Shekh Ismael, what had been the occasion of all this, and to consult what was to be done, for the two villages had declared one another infidels.

I was then come with my servants to Badjoura, and in great quiet and tranquillity, under the protection, and very much in the confidence, of Ismael; but hearing the hooping, and noise in the streets, upon Hamam's arrival, I had barricadoed my outer-doors. A high wall surrounded the house and court-yard, and there I kept quiet, satisfied with being in perfect safety.

In the interim, I heard the quarrel was about the keeping of Ramadan, and I resolved to stay at home till they had fought it out; being very little interested which of them should be victorious. About noon, I was sent for to Ismael's house, and found his uncle Hamam with him.

He told me, there were several wounded in a quarrel about the Ramadan, and recommended them to my care. "About Ramadan!" said I, "what, your "principal fast! have you not settled that yet?"—Without answering me as to this, he asked, "When did the moon of Ramadan change?" As I knew nothing of Friar Christopher's operations, I answered in hours, minutes, and seconds, as I found them in the ephemerides *.

"Look you here," says Hamam, "this is fine work!" and, directing his discourse to me, "When should we have seen it!" "Sir," said I, "this is impossible for me to tell, as it depended on the state of the heavens at the time; but certainly the third

* Nouvelle Lune, le 7 à 14 heur. 47 minut. Ephem. des Mouv. Cel. par M. de le Caille, p. 106. Janvier, 1769.

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day; whether the Fakir saw it sooner, depends on the confidence you have in him." He started at this, then told me Friar Christopher's operation, and the consequences of it.

Ismael was ashamed, and cursed him. It was too late to retract; the moon appeared, and spoke for herself; and the unfortunate friar was disgraced, and banished from Badjoura. Luckily the pleuritic stitch came again, and I was called to bleed him, which I did with a lancet; but he was so terrified at its brightness, at the ceremony of the towel and bason, and at my preparation, that it did not please him, and therefore he became again inclined to be reconciled to Christopher and his tabange, to which I made no objection. Badjoura is in lat. 26° 3′ 16″; and is situated on the western shore of the Nile, as Furshout is likewise.

We left Furshout the 7th of January 1769, early in the morning *. We had not hired our boat farther than Furshout; but the good terms which subsisted between me and the saint, my Rais, made an accommodation to carry us farther very easy. He now agreed for 4l. to carry us to Syene and down again; but, if he behaved well, he expected a trifling premium. " And, if you behave ill, Hassan," said I, what do you think you deserve?" " To be hanged," said he; " I deserve, and desire no better."

* The dates in this part of the journey are a good deal confused by the author's having given them from memory. If the date of the 7th is accurate, which indeed is not likely, the issue of the adventure of the moon could not be known to Mr Bruce till his return to Badjoura, February 2d. But he had observations of Long. at Negade, Jan. 11th, and at Badjoura, Jan. 27. and 31. Of course he must have returned to Badjoura sooner than he writes. The Journal is irregularly kept at this time; and cannot rectify what he has evidently forgotten.—E.

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Our wind, at first, was but scanty. The Rais said, that he thought his boat did not go as it used to do, and that it was growing into a tree. The wind, however, freshened up towards noon, and eased him of his fears. We passed a large town, called How, on the west side of the Nile. About four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at El Gourni, a small village, a quarter of a mile distant from the Nile. It has in it a temple of old Egyptian architecture. I think that this, and the two adjoining heaps of ruins, which are at the same distance from the Nile, probably might have been part of the ancient Thebes.

Shaamy and Taamy * are two colossal statues in a sitting posture covered with hieroglyphics. The southmost is of one stone, and perfectly entire. The northmost is a good deal more mutilated. It was probably broken by Cambyses; and they have since endeavoured to repair it. The other has a very remarkable head-dress, which can be compared to nothing but a tye-wig, such as is worn in the present day. These two, situated in a very fertile spot belonging to Thebes, were apparently the Nilometers of that town, as the marks which the water has left upon the bases sufficiently shew. The bases of both of them are bare, and uncovered, to the bottom of the plinth, or lowest member of their pedestal; so that there is not the eighth of an inch of the lowest part of them covered with mud, though they stand in the middle of a plain, and have stood there certainly above 3000 years; since which time, if the fanciful rise of the land of Egypt by the Nile had been true, the earth

* Coptic names, written Si-amoi and Ti-amoi, or perhaps Si-amôou and Ti-amôou. Moou is water. Môou-si (Moses) is water-drawn, viz. drawn out of the river.—E.

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should have been raised so as fully to conceal half of them both *.

These statues are covered with inscriptions of Greek and Latin ; the import of which seems to be, that there were certain travellers, or particular people, who heard Memnon's statue utter the sound it was said to do, upon being struck with the rays of the sun.

It may be very reasonably expected, that I should here say something of the building and fall of the first Thebes ; but as this would carry me into very early ages, and interrupt, for a long time, my voyage upon the Nile ; as this is, besides, connected with the history of several nations, which I am about to describe, and more proper for the work of an historian, than the cursory descriptions of a traveller, I shall defer saying any thing upon the subject, till I come to treat of it in the first of these characters, and more especially till I shall speak of the origin of the *Shepherds*, and the calamities brought upon Egypt by that powerful nation, a people often mentioned by different writers, but whose history hitherto has been but imperfectly known.

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes but four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither so entire, nor so magnificent, as those of Dendera. The temples at Medinet Tabu are the most elegant of these. The hieroglyphics are cut to the depth of half a-foot, in some places, but we have still the same figures, or rather a less variety, than at Dendera.

The hieroglyphics are of four sorts ; first, such as have only the contour marked, and, as it were, scratch-

* It is chiefly in the Delta where the mud is said to have accumulated. Probably the current at Thebes is too rapid to leave much on the shores near that city.—E.

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ed in the stone. The second are hollowed; and in the middle of that space, excavated, rises the figure in relief, so that the prominent part of the figure is level with the flat, unwrought surface of the stone, which seems like a frame round it, designed to defend the hieroglyphic from mutilation. The third sort is in relief, or basso relievo, as it is called, where the figure is left bare and exposed, without being sunk in, or defended, by any compartment cut round it in the stone. The fourth are those mentioned in the beginning of this description, the outlines of the figure being cut very deep in the stone, and all the interior hollowed.

All the hieroglyphics, but the last mentioned, which do not admit it, are painted red, blue, and green, as at Dendera, and with no other colours.

Notwithstanding all this variety in the manner of executing the hieroglyphical figures, and the prodigious multitude which I have seen in the several buildings, I never could make the number of different hieroglyphics amount to more than five hundred and fourteen *, and of these there were certainly

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* The hieroglyphics on the temples, and picture-writing, in general, were surely not intended to express words, but things.—In the small work of Hor-apollo, we see clearly the plan on which that system was formed; and may readily conceive how five hundred characters, having each four or five different meanings, were sufficient to express all that the writers intended. The relative and varied composition of the figures must have influenced the meaning of each; aud furnished a new species of signification. The sacred language, also, is now generally known to have been an artificial nomenclature of things founded on a fanciful relation betweeen these and the gods. Thus, the soul was called a hawk; the sea, the foam of Typhon; the plant Artemisia, the heart of Bubastis; and painted in a manner corresponding to these.

Hence, the number of figures would be much reduced. For some conventional symbol, or attitude of a divinity, would at one

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many, which were not really different, but, from the ill execution of the sculpture, only appeared so. From this I conclude, that it can be no entire language which hieroglyphics are meant to express, for no language could be comprehended in five hundred words, and it is probable that these hieroglyphics are not *alphabetical*, or *single letters* only; for five hundred letters would make *too large* an alphabet. The Chinese indeed, have many more letters in use, but no alphabet; but *who is it that understands the Chinese?*

There are three different characters which, I observe, have been in use at the same time in Egypt; Hieroglyphics, the Mummy character, and the Ethiopic. These are all three found, as I have seen, on the same mummy, and, therefore, were certainly used at the same time. The last only, I believe, was a *language*.

The mountains immediately above or behind Thebes, are hollowed out into numberless caverns, the first habitations of the Ethiopian colony which built the city. I imagine they continued long in these habitations, for I do not think the temples were ever intended but for *public* and *solemn* uses, and in none of these ancient cities did I ever see a wall or foundation, or any thing like a private house; all are temples and tombs, if temples and tombs in those times were not the same

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time denote the thing with which his character was artificially associated in the dialect of the priests, and at another time, the god himself, without a metaphor. Possessing an artificial language, understood only by those who made it; accustomed to maintain a great number of imaginary properties, and false assertions in natural history, it is no wonder that the priests succeeded in concealing their knowledge, while alive, and burying it in their tombs, along with themselves. The want of variety in the Egyptian hieroglyphics is very conspicuous. But who has attempted from existing monuments to arrange and illustrate them?—E.

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thing. But vestiges of houses there are none, whatever Diodorus * Siculus may say; building with stone was too expensive for individuals; the houses, probably, were all of clay, thatched with palm branches, as they are at this day. This is one reason why so few ruins of the immense number of cities we hear of remain.

Thebes, according to Homer, had a *hundred gates*. We cannot, however, discover yet the foundation of any wall that it had surrounding it; and, as for the horsemen and chariots, it is said to have sent out, all the Thebaid, sown with wheat, would not have maintained *one half* of them.

Thebes, at least the ruins of the temples, called Medinet Tabu, which we can scarcely doubt were the remains of that city, are built in a long stretch of about a mile broad, most parsimoniously chosen at the sandy foot of the mountains. The Horti Pensiles †, or hanging gardens, were surely formed upon the sides of these hills, then supplied with water by mechanical devices. The utmost is done to spare the plain, and with great reason; for all the space of ground this ancient city has had to maintain its myriads of horses and men, is a plain of three quarters of a mile broad, between the town and the river, upon which plain the water rises to the height of four, or five feet, as we may judge by the marks on the statues Shaamy and Taamy. All this pretended populousness of ancient Thebes I therefore believe fabulous, till stronger evidence is brought to confirm it.

It is a circumstance very remarkable, in building the first temples, that, where the side walls are solid, that is, not supported by pillars, some of these have

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

† Plin. lib. 26. cap. 14.

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their angles and faces perpendicular, others inclined in a very considerable angle to the horizon. Those temples, whose walls are inclined, you may judge, by the many hieroglyphics and ornaments, are of the first ages, or the greatest antiquity. From which, I am disposed to think, that singular construction was a remnant of the partiality of the builders for their first domiciles; an imitation of the slope *, or inclination of the sides of mountains, and that this inclination of flat surfaces to each other in building, gave afterwards the first idea of pyramids †.

A number of robbers, who much resemble our gypsies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all outlaws, punished with death, if elsewhere found. Osman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgé, unable to suffer any longer the disorders committed by these people, ordered a quantity of dried faggots to be brought together, and, with his soldiers, took possession of the face of the mountain, where the greatest number of these wretches were: He then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry brushwood, to which he set fire, so that most of them were destroyed; but they have since recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.

About half a mile north of El Gourni, are the magnificent, stupendous sepulchres, of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come close behind the town; they are not run in upon one another like ridges, but stand insulated upon their bases, so that you can get round each of them. A hundred of these, it is said, are excavated into sepulchral, and a

* See Norden's view of the temples at Esné and Edfu. Vol. ii. plate 6. p. 80.

† This inclined figure of the sides, is frequently found in the small boxes within the mummy chests.

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variety of other apartments. I went through seven of them with a great deal of fatigue. It is a solitary place; and my guides, either from a natural impatience and distaste that these people have at such employments, or that their fears of the banditti that live in the caverns of the mountains were real, importuned me to return to the boat, even before I had begun my search, or got into the mountains where are the many large apartments of which I was in quest.

In the first one of these I entered is the prodigious sarcophagus, some say of Menes, others of Osimandyas; possibly of neither. It is sixteen feet high, ten long, and six broad, of one piece of red-granite; and, as such, is, I suppose, the finest vase in the world. Its cover is still upon it, (broken on one side,) and it has a figure in relief on the outside. It is not probably the tomb of Osimandyas, because Diodorus * says, that it was ten stadia from the tomb of the kings;—whereas this is one among them.

There have been some ornaments at the outer-pillars, or outer-entry, which have been broken and thrown down. Thence, you descend through an inclined passage, I suppose, about twenty feet broad; I speak only by guess, for I did not measure. The side-walls, as well as the roof of this passage, are covered with a coat of stucco, of a finer and more equal grain or surface, than I ever saw in Europe. I found my black-lead pencil little more worn by it than by writing upon paper.

Upon the left hand side is the crocodile seizing upon the apis, and plunging him into the water. On

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* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Osimandyas, Ismendes, or Smendes, as written by some antient authors, signifies the son of Mendes, a god well known in Egypt.—E.

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the right hand is the scarabæus thebaicus, or the thebaic beetle *, the first animal that is seen after the Nile retires from the land; and, therefore, thought to be an emblem of the resurrection. My own conjecture is, that the apis was the emblem of the arable land of Egypt; the crocodile, the typhon, or cacodæmon, the type of an over-abundant Nile; that the scarabæus was the land which had been overflowed, and from which the water had soon retired, and has nothing to do with the resurrection or immortality, neither of which at that time were in contemplation.

Farther forward on the right-hand of the entry, the pannels, or compartments, were still formed in stucco, but, in place of figures in relief, they were painted in fresco. I dare say this was the case on the left hand of the passage, as well as the right. But the first discovery was so unexpected, and I had flattered myself that I should be so far master of my own time, as to see the whole at my leisure, that I was rivetted, as it were, to the spot by the first sight of these paintings, and I could proceed no farther.

In one pannel were several musical instruments strewed upon the ground, chiefly of the hautboy kind, with a mouth-piece of reed. There were also some simple pipes, or flutes. With them were several jars apparently of potter's ware, which, having their mouths covered with parchment, or skin, and being braced on their sides like a drum, were probably the instrument called the *tabor*, or *tabret* †, beat upon by the hands, coupled in earliest ages with the harp, and preserved still in Abyssinia, though its companion, the last mentioned instrument, is no longer known *there*.

* See the figure of this insect in Paul Lucas.
† Gen. xxxi. 27. Isa. chap. xxx. ver. 32.

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In three following pannels were painted, in fresco, three harps, which merited the utmost attention, whether we consider the elegance of these instruments in their form, and the detail of their parts as they are here clearly expressed, or confine ourselves to the reflection that necessarily follows, to how great perfection music must have arrived, before an artist could have produced so complete an instrument as either of these.

As the first harp seemed to be the most perfect, and least spoiled, I immediately attached myself to this, and desired my clerk to take upon him the charge of the second. In this way, by sketching exactly, and loosely, I hoped to have made myself master of all the paintings in that cave, perhaps, to have extended my researches to others, though, in the sequel, I found myself miserably deceived.

My first drawing was that of a man playing upon a harp; he was standing, and the instrument being broad, and flat at the base, probably for that purpose, supported itself easily with a very little inclination upon his arm; his head is close shaved, his eye-brows black, without beard or mustachoes. He has on him a loose shirt, like what they wear at this day in Nubia (only it is not blue) with loose sleeves, and arms and neck bare. It seemed to be thick muslin, or cotton cloth, and longways through it is a crimson strip, about one eighth of an inch broad; a proof, if this is Egyptian manufacture, that they understood at that time how to dye cotton, crimson; an art found out in Britain only a few years ago. If this is the fabric of India, still it proves the antiquity of the commerce between the two countries, and the introduction of Indian manufactures into Egypt.

It reached down to his ancle; his feet are without sandals; he seems to be a corpulent man, of about six-

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ty years of age, and of a complexion rather dark for an Egyptian. To guess, by the detail of the figure, the painter seems to have had the same degree of merit with a good sign-painter in Europe, at this day. If we allow this harper's stature to be five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp, in its extreme length, to be something less than six feet and a half.

This instrument is of a much more advantageous form than the triangular Grecian harp. It has thirteen strings, but wants the forepiece of the frame opposite to the longest string. The back part is the sounding-board, composed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in the form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom; so that, as the length of the string increases, the square of the corresponding space in the sounding-board, in which the sound was to undulate, always increases in proportion. The whole principles, on which this harp is constructed, are rational and ingenious, and the ornamented parts are executed in the very best manner.

The bottom and sides of the frame seem to be fineered, and inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoise-shell, and mother-of-pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring seas and deserts. It would be even now impossible, either to construct or to finish a harp of any form with more taste and elegance. Besides the proportions of its outward form, we must observe likewise how near it approached to a perfect instrument, for it wanted only two strings of having two complete octaves; that these were purposely omitted, not from defect of taste or science, must appear beyond contradiction, when we consider the harp that follows.

I had no sooner finished the harp which I had taken in hand, than I went to my assistant, to see what progress he had made in the drawing in which he was engaged. I found, to my very great surprise, that

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this harp differed essentially, in form and distribution of its parts, from the one I had drawn, without having lost any of its elegance; on the contrary, that it was finished with full more attention than the other. It seemed to be fineered with the same materials, ivory and tortoiseshell, but the strings were differently disposed; the ends of the three longest, where they joined to the sounding-board below, were defaced by a hole dug in the wall. Several of the strings in different parts had been scraped as with a knife; for the rest, it was very perfect. It had eighteen strings. A man, who seemed to be still older than the former, but in habit perfectly the same, barefooted, close shaved, and of the same complexion with him, stood playing with both his hands near the middle of the harp, in a manner seemingly less agitated than in the other.

I went back to my first harp, verified, and examined my drawing in all its parts; it is with great pleasure I now give a figure of this second harp to the reader. It was mislaid among a multitude of other papers, at the time when I was solicited to communicate the former drawing to a gentleman, then writing the History of Music, which he has already submitted to the public. It is very lately and unexpectedly this last harp has been found; I am only sorry this accident has deprived the public of Dr Burney's remarks upon it. I hope he will yet favour us with them, and therefore abstain from anticipating his reflections, as I consider this as his province; I never knew any one so capable of affording the public, new, and, at the same time, just lights, on the subject.

There still remained a third harp of ten strings; its precise form I do not well remember, for I had seen it but once when I first entered the cave, and was now preparing to copy that likewise. I do not recollect that there was any man playing upon this one; I think

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it was rather resting upon a wall, with some kind of drapery upon one end of it, and was the smallest of the three. But I am not at all so certain of particulars concerning this, as to venture any description of it; what I have said of the other two may be absolutely depended upon.

I look upon these harps, then, as the Theban harps in use in the time of Sesostris, who did not rebuild, but decorate ancient Thebes. I consider them as affording an incontestible proof, were they the only monuments remaining, that every art necessary to the construction, ornament, and use of this instrument, was in the highest perfection, and if so, all others must probably have attained to the same degree.

We see, in particular, the ancients then possessed an art relative to architecture, that of hewing the hardest stones with the greatest ease, of which we are at this day utterly ignorant and incapable. We have no instrument that could do it, no composition that could make tools of temper sufficient to cut bass reliefs in granite or porphyry so readily; and our ignorance in this is the more completely shown, in that we have all the reasons to believe, the cutting instrument, with which they did these surprising feats, was composed of brass; a metal of which, after a thousand experiments, no tool has ever been made that could serve the purpose of a common knife, though we are at the same time certain, it was of brass the ancients made even their razors.

These harps, in my opinion, overturn all the accounts hitherto given of the earliest state of music and musical instruments in the east; and are altogether in their form, ornaments, and compass, an incontestible proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music, were at the greatest perfection when this instrument was

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made, and that the period, from which we date the invention of these arts, was only the beginning of the æra of their restoration. This was the sentiment of Solomon, a writer who lived at the time when this harp was painted. " Is there," says Solomon, " any " thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new! It " hath been already of old time which was before us*."

The effects of a revolution occasioned, at the period I am now speaking of, by the universal inundation of the *Shepherds*, were the destruction of Thebes, the ruin of architecture, and the downfal of astronomy in Egypt. Still a remnant was left in the colonies and correspondents of Thebes, though fallen. Ezekiel † celebrates Tyre as being, from her beginning, famous for the tabret and harp, and it is probably to Tyre the taste for music fled from the contempt and persecution of the barbarous Shepherds; who, though a numerous nation, to this day never have yet possessed any species of music, or any kind of musical instruments capable of improvement.

Although it is a curious subject for reflection, it should not surprise us to find here the harp, in such variety of form. Old Thebes, as we shall presently see, had been destroyed, and was soon after decorated and adorned, but not rebuilt, by Sesostris. It was some time between the reign of Menes, the first king of the Thebaid, and the first general war of the Shepherds, that these decorations and paintings were made. This gives it a prodigious antiquity; but supposing it was a favourite instrument, consequently well understood at the building of Tyre ‡, in the year

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* Eccles. chap. i. ver. 10.

† Ezek. chap. xxviii. ver. 13.

‡ Nay, prior to this, the harp is mentioned as a common in-

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1320 before Christ, and that Sesostris lived in the time of Solomon, as Sir Isaac Newton imagines; still there were 320 years since that instrument had already attained to great perfection, a sufficient time to have varied it into every form.

Upon seeing the preparations I was making to proceed farther in my researches, my conductors lost all sort of subordination. They were afraid my intention was to sit in this cave all night (as it really was), and to visit the rest next morning. With great clamour and marks of discontent, they dashed their torches against the largest harp, and made the best of their way out of the cave, leaving me and my people in the dark; and all the way as they went, they made dreadful denunciations of tragical events that were immediately to follow, upon their departure from the cave.

There was no possibility of doing more. I offered them money, much beyond the utmost of their expectations; but the fear of the Troglodytes, above Medinet Tabu, had fallen upon them; and seeing at last this was real, I was not myself without apprehensions, for they were banditti, and outlaws, and no reparation was to be expected, whatever they should have done to hurt us.

Very much vexed, I mounted my horse to return to the boat. The road lay through a very narrow valley, the sides of which were covered with bare loose stones. I had no sooner got down to the bottom, than I heard a great deal of loud speaking on both sides of the valley; and, in an instant, a number of large stones were rolled down upon me, which,

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strument in Abraham's time, 1370 years before Christ, Gen. chap. xxxii. ver. 27.

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though I heard in motion, I could not see, on account of the darkness; this increased my terror.

Finding, by the impatience of the horse, that several of these stones had come near him, and that it probably was the noise of his feet which guided those that threw them, I dismounted, and ordered the Moor to get on horseback; which he did, and in a moment galloped out of danger. This, if I had been wise, I certainly might have done before him, but my mind was occupied by the paintings. Nevertheless, I was resolved upon revenge before leaving these banditti, and listened till I heard voices, on the right side of the hill. I accordingly levelled my gun as near as possible, by the ear, and fired one barrel among them. A moment's silence ensued, and then a loud howl, which seemed to have come from thirty or forty persons. I took my servant's blunderbuss and discharged it where I heard the howl, and a violent confusion of tongues followed, but no more stones. As I found this was the time to escape, I kept along the dark side of the hill, as expeditiously as possible, till I came to the mouth of the plain, when we reloaded our firelocks, expecting some interruption before we reached the boat; and then we made the best of our way to the river.

We found our Rais full of fears for us. He had been told, that, as soon as daylight should appear, the whole Troglodytes were to come down to the river, in order to plunder and destroy our boat.

This night expedition at the mountains was but partial; the general attack was reserved for next day. Upon holding council, we were unanimous in opinion, as indeed we had been during the whole course of this voyage. We thought, since our enemy had left us to-night, it would be our fault if they found us in the morning. Therefore without noise, we cast off

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our rope that fastened us, and let ourselves over to the other side. About twelve at night a gentle breeze began to blow. which wafted us up to Luxor, where there was a governor, for whom I had letters.

From being convinced by the sight of Thebes, which had not the appearance of ever having had walls, that the fable of the hundred gates, mentioned by Homer, was mere invention, I was led to conjecture what could be the origin of that fable.

That the old inhabitants of Thebes lived in caves in the mountains, is, I think, without doubt; and that the hundred mountains I have spoke of, excavated, and adorned, were the greatest wonders at the time, seems equally probable. Now, the name of these to this day is * Beeban el Meluke, the ports or gates of the kings, and hence, perhaps, come the hundred gates of Thebes upon which the Greeks have dwelt so much. Homer never saw Thebes; it was demolished before the days of any profane writer, either in prose or verse. What he added to its history must have been from imagination.

All that is said of Thebes, by poets or historians, after the days of Homer, is meant of Diospolis; which was built by the Greeks long after Thebes was de-

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* The true meaning of Biban el Melûk is not, as it signifies in common Arabic, the ports, but the *caves* of the kings. The Egyptian word Beb, according to La Croze, is, in Latin, *antrum, spelunca;* nearly the same with Bê, which means a tomb. Many places in Egypt were called Bê-oeishiri, Busiris, the tomb of Osiris, from this circumstance. The first excavations there may have been rude houses: some must have been quarries; many appear to have been sepulchres of the old Egyptians. The monks peopled these cells, and probably made many of them in the second, third, and fourth centuries. Travellers should not overlook this last fact.—E.

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stroyed, as its name testifies; though Diodorus says * it was built by Busiris. It was on the east side of the Nile, whereas ancient Thebes was on the west, though both are considered as one city; and Strabo † says, that the river ‡ runs through the middle of Thebes, by which he means between old Thebes and Diospolis, or Luxor and Medinet Tabu.

While in the boat, I could not help regretting the time I had spent in the morning, in looking for the place in the narrow valley where the mark of the famous golden circle was visible, which Norden says he saw, but I could discern no traces of it anywhere, and indeed it does not follow that the mark left was that of a circle. This magnificent instrument was probably fixed perpendicular to the horizon in the plane of the meridian; so that the appearance of the place where it stood, would very probably not partake of the circular form at all, or any precise shape whereby to know it. Besides, as I have before said, it was not among these tombs or excavated mountains, but ten stades from them, so the vestiges of this famous instrument § could not be found here. Indeed, being omitted in the latest edition of Norden, it would seem that traveller himself was not perfectly well assured of its existence.

We were well received by the governor of Luxor, who was also a believer in judicial astrology. Having

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* Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. i. p. 42. § d.

† Strabo, lib. 17. p. 943.

‡ Nah. ch. 3. ver. 8, & 9.

§ A similar instrument, erected by Eratosthenes at Alexandria, cut of copper, was used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy.—Alm. lib. 1. cap. 11. 3. cap. 2. Vide the Remarks on Mr Greave's Pyramidographia, p. 134.

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made him a small present, he furnished us with provisions, and, among several other articles, some brown sugar; and as we had seen limes and lemons in great perfection at Thebes, we were resolved to refresh ourselves with some punch, in remembrance of Old England. But, after what had happened the night before, none of our people chose to run the risk of meeting the Troglodytes. We therefore procured a servant of the governor of the town, to mount upon his goatskin filled with wind, and float down the stream from Luxor to El Gournie, to bring us a supply of these, which he soon after did.

He informed us, that the people in the caves had, early in the morning, made a descent upon the townsmen, with a view to plunder our boat; that several of them had been wounded the night before, and they threatened to pursue us to Syene. The servant did all he could to frighten them, by saying that his master's intention was to pass over with troops, and exterminate them, as Osman Bey of Girgé had before done, and *we* were to assist him with our fire-arms. —After this we heard no more of them.

Luxor, and Carnac, which is a mile and a quarter below it, are by far the largest and most magnificent scenes of ruins in Egypt, much more extensive and stupendous than those of Thebes and Dendera put together.

There are two obelisks here of great beauty, and in good preservation; they are less than those at Rome, but not at all mutilated. The pavement, which is made to receive the shadow, is to this day so horizontal, that it might still be used in observation. The top of the obelisk is semicircular, an experiment, I suppose, made at the instance of the observer, by varying the shape of the point of the obelisk to get rid of the penumbra.

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At Carnac we saw the remains of two vast rows of sphinxes, one on the right-hand, the other on the left, (their heads were mostly broken) and, a little lower, a number of termini as it should seem. They were composed of basaltes, with a dog or lion's head, of Egyptian sculpture; they stood in lines likewise, as if to conduct or serve as an avenue to some principal building.

They had been covered with earth, till very lately a * Venetian physician and antiquary bought one of them at a very considerable price, as he said, for the king of Sardinia. This has caused several others to be uncovered, though no purchaser hath yet offered.

Upon the outside of the walls at Carnac and Luxor there seems to be an historical engraving instead of hieroglyphics: this we had not met with before. It is a representation of men, horses, chariots, and battles; some of the attitudes are freely and well drawn; they are rudely scratched upon the surface of the stone, as some of the hieroglyphics at Thebes are. The weapons the men make use of are short javelins, such as are common at this day among the inhabitants of Egypt, only they have feathered wings like arrows. There is also distinguished among the rest, the figure of a man on horseback, with a lion fighting furiously by him, and Diodorus † says, Osimandyas was so represented at Thebes. This whole composition merits great attention.

I have said, that Luxor is Diospolis, and should think, that that place, and Carnac together, made the Jovis Civitas Magna of Ptolemy, though there is 9′ difference of the latitude by my observation compared

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* Signior Donati.

† Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 45. § c.

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with his *. But as mine was made on the south of Luxor, if his was made on the north of Carnac, the difference will be greatly diminished.

The 17th we took leave of our friendly Shekh of Luxor, and sailed with a very fair wind, and in great spirits. The liberality of the Shekh of Luxor had extended as far even as to my Rais, whom he engaged to land me here upon my return.—I had procured him considerable ease in some complaints he had; and he saw our departure with as much regret as in other places they commonly did our arrival.

On the eastern shore are Hambdé, Maschergarona, Tot, Senimi, and Gibeg. Mr Norden seems to have very much confused the places in this neighbourhood, as he puts Erment opposite to Carnac, and Thebes farther south than Erment, and on the east side of the Nile, whilst he places Luxor farther south than Erment. But Erment is fourteen miles farther south than Thebes, and Luxor about a quarter of a mile (as I have already said) farther south on the East side of the river, whereas Thebes is on the west.

He has fixed a village (which he calls Demegeit †) in the situation where Thebes stands, and he calls it Crocodilopolis, from what authority I know not; but the whole geography is here exceedingly confused, and out of its proper position.

In the evening we came to an anchor on the eastern shore, nearly opposite to Esné. Some of our people had landed to shoot, trusting to a turn of the river that

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* The word Thebai is Coptic, and begins with *th* or *ti*, which is the feminine prefix. The antient and native name of Thebes was Ma-n-amoein, or, by corruption, No-ammon, " the city or place of the God of light."—E.

† Vide Norden's map of the Nile.

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is here, which would enable them to keep up with us; but they did not arrive till the sun was setting, loaded with hares, pigeons, gootos, all very bad game. I had, on my part, staid on board, and had shot two geese, as bad eating as the others, but very beautiful in their plumage.

We passed over to Esné next morning. It is the ancient Latopolis, and has very great remains, particularly a large temple, which, though the whole of it is of the remotest antiquity, seems to have been built at different times, or rather out of the ruins of different ancient buildings. The hieroglyphics upon this are very ill executed, and are not painted. The town is the residence of an Arab Shekh, and the inhabitants are a very greedy, bad sort of people; but as I was dressed like an Arab, they did not molest, because they did not know me.

The 18th, we left Esné, and passed the town of Edfu, where there are likewise considerable remains of Egyptian architecture. It is the Apollinis Civitas Magna.

The wind failing, we were obliged to stop in a very poor, desolate and dangerous part of the Nile, called Jibbel el Silselly, where a boom, or chain, was drawn across the river, to hinder, as is supposed, the Nubian boats from committing piratical practices in Egypt lower down the stream. The stones on both sides, to which the chain was fixed, are very visible; but I imagine that it was for fiscal rather than for warlike purposes; for, Syene being garrisoned, there is no possibility of boats passing from Nubia by that city into Egypt. There is indeed another purpose for which it might be designed; to prevent war upon the Nile between any two states.

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We know from Juvenal *, who lived some time at Syene, that there was a tribe in that neighbourhood called Ombi, who had violent contentions with the people of Dendera about the crocodile; it is remarkable these two parties were Anthropophagi as late as Juvenal's time, yet no historian speaks of this extraordinary fact, which cannot be called in question, as he was an eye-witness and resided at Syene.

Now these two nations, who were at war, had above a hundred miles of neutral territory between them, and therefore they could never meet except on the Nile. But either one or the other possessing this chain, could hinder their adversaries from coming nearer them. As the chain is in the Hermonthic nome, as well as the capital of the Ombi, I suppose this chain to be the barrier of the latter people, to hinder those of Dendera from coming up the river *to eat* them.

About noon we passed Coom Ombo, a round building like a castle, where is supposed to have been the metropolis of Ombi, the people last spoken of. We then arrived at Daroo †, a miserable mansion, unconscious that, some years after, we were to be indebted to that paltry village for the man who was to guide us through the desert, and restore us to our native country and our friends.

We next came to Shekh Ammer, the encampment of the Arabs ‡ Ababdé, I suppose the same that Mr Norden calls Ababuda, who reach from near Cosseir far into the desert. As I had been acquainted with one of them at Badjoura, who desired medicines for

* Juven. Sat. 15. ver. 76.

† Idris Welled Hamran, our guide through the great desert, dwelt in this village.

‡ The ancient Adei.

his father, I promised to call upon him and see their effect, when I should pass Shekh Ammer, which I now accordingly did; and by the reception I met with, I found they did not expect I would ever have been as good as my word. Indeed they would probably have been in the right, but as I was about to engage myself in extensive deserts, and this was a very considerable nation in these tracks, I thought it was worth my while to put myself under their protection.

Shekh Ammer is not one, but a collection of villages, composed of miserable huts, containing, at this time, about a thousand effective men: they possess few horse, and are mostly mounted on camels. These were friends to Shekh Hamam, governor of Upper Egypt for the time, and consequently to the Turkish government at Syene, as also to the janissaries there at Deir and Ibrim. They were the barrier, or bulwark, against the prodigious number of Arabs, the Bishareen *, and others, depending upon the kingdom of Sennaar.

Ibrahim, the son, who had seen me at Furshout and Badjoura, knew me as soon as I arrived, and, after acquainting his father, came with about a dozen of naked attendants, with lances in their hands, to escort me. I was scarce got into the door of the tent, before a great dinner was brought, after their custom; and, that being dispatched, it was a thousand times repeated, how little they expected that I would have thought or inquired about them.

We were introduced to their Shekh, who was sick, in a corner of a hut, where he lay upon a carpet, with

* The Bishareen are the Arabs who live in the frontier between the two nations. They are the nominal subjects of Sennaar, but in fact, indiscreet banditti, at least as to strangers.

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a cushion under his head. This chief of the Ababdé, called Nimmer, i. e. *the Tiger* (though his furious qualities were at this time in a great measure allayed by sickness) asked me much about the state of Lower Egypt. I satisfied him as far as possible, but recommended to him to confine his thoughts nearer home, and not to be over anxious about these distant countries, as he himself seemed, at that time, to be in a declining state of health.

Nimmer was a man about sixty years of age, exceedingly tormented with the gravel, which was more extraordinary as he dwelt near the Nile; for it is, universally, the disease with those who use water from draw-wells, as in the desert. But he told me, that, for the first twenty-seven years of his life, he never had seen the Nile, unless upon some plundering party; that he had been constantly at war with the people of the cultivated part of Egypt, and had reduced them often to the state of starving; but now that he was old, a friend to Shekh Hamam, and was residing near the Nile, he drank of its water, and was little better, for he was already a martyr to the disease. I had sent him soap pills from Badjoura, which had done him a great deal of good, and now gave him lime-water, and promised him, on my return, to shew his people how to make it.

A very friendly conversation ensued, in which was repeated often, how little they expected I would have visited them! As this implied two things; the first, that I paid no regard to my promise when given; the other, that I did not esteem them of consequence enough to give myself the trouble, I thought it right to clear myself from these suspicions.

"Shekh Nimmer," said I, "this frequent repetition, that you thought I would not keep my word, is *grievous* to me. I am a Christian, and have lived now

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many years among you Arabs. Why did you imagine that I would not keep my word, since it is a principle among all the Arabs I have lived with, inviolably to keep theirs? When your son Ibrahim came to me at Badjoura, and told me the pain that you was in, night and day, fear of God, and desire to do good, even to them I had never seen, made me send you those medicines that have given you ease. After this proof of my humanity, what was there extraordinary in my coming to see you in the way? I knew you not before; but my religion teaches me to do good to all men, even to enemies, without reward, or without considering whether I ever should see them again.

"Now, after the drugs I sent you by Ibrahim, tell me, and tell me truly, upon the *faith* of an *Arab*, would your people, if they met me in the *Desert*, do me any wrong, more than *now*, as I have eat and drank with you to day?"

The old man Nimmer, on this rose from his carpet, and sat upright; a more ghastly and more horrid figure I never saw. "No," said he, "Shekh, cursed be those men of *my people*, or *others*, that ever shall lift up their hand against you, either in the *Desert* or the *Tell*, (*i. e.* the part of Egypt which is cultivated). As long as you are in this country, or between this and Cosseir, my son shall serve you with heart and hand; one night of pain that your medicines freed me from, would not be repaid, if I was to follow you on foot to Messir (that is Cairo)."

I then thought it a proper time to enter into conversation about penetrating into Abyssinia that way, and they discussed it among themselves in a very friendly, and, at the same time, in a very sagacious and sensible manner.

"We would carry you to El Haimer (which I understood to be a well in the desert, and which I after-

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wards was much better acquainted with to my sorrow). "We could conduct you so far," says old Nimmer, "under God, without fear of harm; all that country was Christian once, and we Christians like yourself *. The Saracens having nothing in their power there, we could carry you safely to Suakem; but the Bishary are men not to be trusted, and we could go no farther than to land you among them, and they would put you to death, and laugh at you all the time they were tormenting you †. Now, if you want to visit Abyssinia, go by Cosseir and Jidda; there you Christians command the country."

I told him, I apprehended the Kennouss, about the second cataract above Ibrim, were bad people. He said the Kennouss were, he believed, bad enough in their hearts: but they were wretched slaves, and servants, had no power in their hands, would not wrong any body that was with his people; if they did, he would extirpate them in a day.

I told him, I was satisfied of the truth of what was said, and asked him the best way to Cosseir. He said, the best way for me to go was from Kenné, or Cuft, and that he was carrying a quantity of wheat from Upper Egypt, while Shekh Hamam was sending another cargo from his country, both of which would be delivered at Cosseir, and loaded there for Jidda.

"All that is right, Shekh," said I; "but, suppose your people meet us in the desert, in going to Cosseir, or otherwise, how should we fare in that case? Should we fight?" "I have told you, Shekh, already," says he; "Cursed be the man, who lifts his hand against

* They were *Shepherds* Indigenæ, not Arabs.

† *Qui Ludit in Hospite fixo*—Was a character long ago given to the Moors.

HORACE Ode.

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you! or even does not defend and befriend you, to his own loss, were it Ibrahim my own son."

I then told him I was bound to Cosseir, and that if I found myself in any difficulty, I hoped, upon applying to his people, they would protect me, and that he would give them the word, that I was *Yagoube*, a physician, seeking no harm, but doing good; bound by a vow, for a certain time, to wander through deserts, from fear of God, and that they should not have it in their power to do me harm.

The old man muttered something to his sons in a dialect I did not understand; it was that of the *Shepherds* of Suakem. As that was the first word he spoke, which I did not comprehend, I took no notice, but mixed some lime-water in a large Venetian bottle that was given me when at Cairo, full of *liqueur*, and which would hold about four quarts; and a little after I had done this, the whole hut was filled with people.

These were *priests* and *monks* of their religion, and the heads of families, so that the house could not contain half of them. The great people among them came, and after joining hands, repeated a kind of prayer *, of about two minutes long, by which they declared themselves, and their children, accursed, if ever they lifted their hands against me in the *Tell*, or field, in the *desert*, or on the river; or, in case that I, or mine, should fly to them for refuge, if they did not protect us at the risque of their lives, their families, and their fortunes, or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them.

* This kind of oath was in use among the Arabs, or *Shepherds*, as early as the time of Abraham. Gen. xxi. 22, 23. xxvi. 28.

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Medicines and advice being given on my part, faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat and seven sheep were carried down to the boat, nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country (however it is understood in ours), is just as great an affront as coming into the presence of a superior without a present at all.

I told them, however, that I was going up among Turks, who were *obliged* to maintain me; the consequence therefore will be, to save their own, that they will take your sheep, and make my dinner of them; you and I are *Arabs*, and know what Turks are. They all muttered curses between their teeth at the name of Turk, and we agreed they should keep the sheep till I came back, provided they should be then at liberty to add as many more.

This was all understood between us, and we parted perfectly content with one another. But our Rais was very far from being satisfied, having heard something of the seven sheep; and as we were to be next day at Syene, where he knew we were to get meat enough, he reckoned that they would have been his property. To stifle all cause of discontent, however, I told him he was to take no notice of my visit to Shekh Ammer, and that I would make him amends when I returned.

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CHAP. VII.

Arrival at Syene—Go to see the Cataract—Remarkable Tombs—the situation of Syene—The Aga proposes a Visit to Deir and Ibrim—The Author returns to Kenné.

We sailed on the 20th, with the wind favouring us, till about an hour before sun-rise, and about nine o'clock came to an anchor on the south end of the palm groves, and north end of the town of Syene, nearly opposite to an island in which there is a small handsome Egyptian temple, pretty entire. It is the temple of *Cnuphis**, where formerly was the Nilometer.

Adjoining to the palm trees was a very good comfortable ale-house, belonging to Hussein Schourbatchie, the man that used to be sent from that place to Cairo, to receive the pay of the janizaries in garrison at Syene, upon whom, too, I had credit for a very small sum.

The reasons of a credit in such a place are three: First, in case of sickness, or purchase of any antiquities: Secondly, that you give the people an idea (a very useful one) that you carry no money about with you: Thirdly, that your money changes its value, and is not even current beyond Esné.

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* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 944. Ih-nouphi, the Agathodæmon or good Spirit, reckoned in Egypt eternal.—E.

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Hussein was not at home, but was gone somewhere upon business, but I had hopes to find him in the course of the day. Hospitality is never refused, in these countries, upon the slightest pretence. Having, therefore, letters to him, and hearing his house was empty, we sent our people and baggage to it.

I was not well arrived before a janizary came, in long Turkish clothes, without arms, and a white wand in his hand, to tell me that Syene was a garrison town, and that the Aga was at the castle ready to give me audience *.

I returned him for answer, that I was very sensible it was my first duty, as a stranger, to wait upon the Aga in a *garrisoned* town of which he had the command, but, being bearer of the Grand Signior's firman, having letters from the Bey of Cairo, and from the port of Janizaries, *to him in particular*, and, at present being indisposed and fatigued, I hoped he would indulge me till the arrival of my landlord; in which interim I should take a little rest, change my clothes, and be more in the situation in which I would wish to pay my respects to him.

I received immediately an answer by two janizaries, who insisted to see me, and were accordingly introduced while I was lying down to rest. They said that Mahomet Aga had received my message; that the reason of sending to me was not either to hurry or disturb me; but the earlier to know in what he could be of service to me; that he had *a particular letter* from the Bey of Cairo, in consequence of which, he had dispatched orders to receive me at Esné, but as I

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* I believe that most of the local observations on Egypt in the track between Assouan and Luxor were made by Mr Bruce on his return in 1772. His journals are very full of these at that time. I have not discovered any other accounts among his papers.—E.

had not waited on the Casheff there, he had not been apprised of my coming.

After giving coffee to these very civil messengers, and taking two hours rest, our landlord the Schourbatchie arrived; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, we went to the Aga.

The fort is built of clay, with some small guns mounted on it; it is of strength sufficient to keep people of the country in awe.

I found the Aga sitting in a small kiosk, or closet, upon a stone bench covered with carpets. As I was in no fear of him, I was resolved to walk according to my privileges; and as the meanest Turk would do before the greatest man in England, I sat down upon a cushion below him, after laying my hand on my breast, and saying in an audible voice, with great marks of respect, however, "*Salam alicum!*" to which he answered, without any of the usual difficulty, "*Alicum Salum!*" *Peace be between us* is the salutation; *There is peace between us* is the return.

After sitting down about two minutes, I again got up, and stood in the middle of the room before him, saying, "I am bearer of a hatésheriffe, or royal mandate, to you, Mahomet Aga!" and took the firman out of my bosom, and presented it to him. Upon this he stood upright, and all the rest of the people, before sitting with him, likewise; he bowed his head upon the carpet, then put the firman to his forehead, opened it, and pretended to read it; but he knew well the contents, and I believe, besides, he could neither read nor write any language. I then gave him the other letters from Cairo, which he ordered his secretary to read in his ear.

All this ceremony being finished, he called for a pipe, and coffee. I refused the first, as never using it; but I drank a dish of coffee, and told him, that I

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was bearer of a *confidential message* from Ali Bey of Cairo, and wished to deliver it to him without witnesses, whenever he pleased. The room was accordingly cleared without delay, excepting his secretary, who was also going away, when I pulled him back by the clothes, saying, " Stay, if you please, we shall need you to write the answer." We were no sooner left alone, than I told the Aga, that, being a stranger, and not knowing the disposition of his people, or what footing they were on together, and being desired to address myself only to him by the Bey, and our mutual friends at Cairo, I wished to put it in his power (as he pleased or not) to have witnessess of delivering the small present I had brought him from Cairo. The Aga seemed very sensible of this delicacy; and particularly desired me to take no notice to my landlord, the Schourbatchie, of any thing I had brought him.

All this being over, and a *confidence* established with *government*, I sent his present by his own servant that night, under pretence of desiring horses to go to the cataract next day. The message was returned, that the horses were to be ready by six o'clock next morning. On the 21st, the Aga sent me his own horse, with mules and asses for my servants, to go to the cataract.

We passed out at the south gate of the town, into the first small sandy plain. A very little to our left, there are a number of tomb-stones with inscriptions in the Cufic character, which travellers erroneously have called *unknown* language, and letters, although it was the only letter and language known to Mahomet, and the most learned of his sect in the first ages.

The Cufic characters seem to be all written in capitals, which one might learn to read much more easily than the modern Arabic, and they more resemble

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the Samaritan. We read there—Abdullah el Hejazi el Ansari—Mahomet Abdel Shems el Taiefy el Ansari. The first of these, Abdullah el Hejazi, is Abdullah, born in Arabia Petrea. The other is, Mahomet the slave of the sun, born in Taief. Now, both of these are called *Ansari*, which many writers, upon Arabian history, think, means, *born in Medina;* because, when Mahomet fled from Mecca, the night of the hegira, the people of Medina received him willingly, and thenceforward got the name of Ansari, or Helpers *. But this honourable name was extended afterwards to all those who fought under Mahomet in his wars, and after, even to those who had been born in his lifetime, without any regard to the place of their nativity; and thence comes the mistake.

These of whose tombs we are now speaking, were of the army of Khaled Ibn el Waalid, whom Mahomet named, Saif Ullah, the "Sword of God," and who, in the califat of Omar, took and destroyed Syene, after losing great part of his army before it. It was afterwards rebuilt by the *Shepherds* of Beja, then Christians, and again taken in the time of Salidan, and with the rest of Egypt, *ever since* has belonged to Cairo. It was conquered by, or rather surrendered to, Selim, Emperor of the Turks, in 1516, who planted two advanced posts (Deir and Ibrim) beyond the cataract in Nubia, with small garrisons of janizaries to guard them, where they continue to this day.

Their pay is issued from Cairo; sometimes they marry each others daughters, rarely marry the women of the country, and the son, or nephew, or nearest relation of each deceased, succeeds as janizary in the

* This word, improperly used and spelled by M. de Volney, has nothing to do with these Ausaris.

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room of his father. They have lost their native language, and have indeed nothing of the Turk in them, but a propensity to violence, rapine, and injustice; to which they joined the perfidy of the Arab, which, as I have said, they sometimes inherit from their mother. An Aga commands these troops in the castle. They have about two hundred horsemen armed with firelocks; with which, by the help of Abadé, encamped at Shekh Ammer, they keep the Bishareen, and all these numerous tribes of Arabs, that inhabit the desert of Sennaar, in tolerable order.

The merchants, and other inhabitants of the town, are commanded by a casheff. There is neither butter nor milk at Syene (the latter comes from Lower Egypt); the same may be said of fowls. Dates do not ripen at Syene; those that are sold at Cairo come from Ibrim and Dongola. There are good fish in the Nile, and they are easily caught, especially at the cataract, or in broken water: there are only two kinds of large ones, which I have happened to see, the binny and the boulti. The binny I have described in its proper place.

After passing the tomb-stones without the gate, we come to a plain about five miles long, bordered on the left by a hill of no considerable height, and sandy like the plain, upon which are seen some ruins, more modern than those Egyptian buildings we have described. They seem, indeed, to be a mixture of all kinds and ages.

The distance from the gate of the town to Termissi, or Marada, the small villages of the cataract, is exactly six English miles. After the description already given of this cataract in some authors, a traveller has reason to be surprised, when arrived on its banks, to find that vessels sail up the cataract, and consequent-

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ly the fall cannot be so violent as to deprive the people of their hearing *.

The bed of the river, occupied by the water, was not then half a mile broad. It is divided into a number of small channels, by large blocks of granite, from thirty to forty feet high. The current, confined for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence. Finding, in every part before it, opposition from the rocks of granite, and forced back by these, it meets the opposite currents. The chafing of the water against these huge obstacles, the meeting of the contrary currents, one with another, creates such a violent ebullition, and makes such a noise and disturbed appearance, that it fills the mind with confusion rather than with terror.

We saw the miserable Kennouss (who inhabit the banks of the river up into Nubia, to above the second cataract) to procure their daily food, lying behind rocks, with lines in their hands, and catching fish; they did not seem to be either dexterous, or successful in the sport. They are not black, but of the darkest brown; are not woolly-headed, but have hair.—They are small, light, agile people, and seem to be more than half-starved. I made a sign, that I wanted to speak with one of them; but, seeing me surrounded with a number of horse and fire-arms, they did not choose to trust themselves. I left my people behind with my fire-lock, and went alone to see if I could engage them in a conversation. At first, they walked off; finding I persisted in following them, they ran at full speed, and hid themselves among the rocks.

* Cicero de Somnio Scipionis.

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Pliny says *, that, in his time, the city of Syene was situated so directly under the tropic of Cancer, that there was a well, into which the sun shone so perpendicular, that it was enlightened by its rays down to the bottom. Strabo † has said the same. The ignorance, or negligence, in the Geodesique measure in this observation, is extraordinary: Egypt had been measured yearly, from early ages, and the distance between Syene and Alexandria should have been known to an ell. From this inaccuracy, I do very much suspect that the other measure Eratosthenes is said to have made, by which he fixed the sun's parallax at 10 seconds and a half, was not really made by him, but was some old Chaldaic, or Egyptian observation, made by more instructed astronomers, which he had fallen upon.

The Arabs call it Assouan, which they say signifies *enlightened;* in allusion, I suppose, to the circumstance of the well, enlightened within by the sun's being stationary over it in June; in the language of Beja its name signifies a circle, or portion of a circle.

Syene, among other things, is famous for the first attempt made by Greek astronomers to ascertain the measure of the circumference of the earth. Eratosthenes, born at Cyrene about 276 years before Christ, was invited from Athens to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, who made him keeper of the royal library in that city. In this experiment two positions were assumed, that Alexandria and Syene were exactly 5000 stades distant from each other, and that they were precisely under the same meridian. Again, it was verified by the experiment of the well, that, in the

* Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 73.
† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 944.

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summer solstice at mid-day, when the sun was in the tropic of Cancer, in its greatest northern declination, the well * at that instant was totally and equally illuminated; and that no style, or gnomon, erected on a perfect plain, did cast, or project, any manner of shadow for 150 stades round, from which it was justly concluded, that the sun, on that day, was so exactly vertical to Syene, that the centre of its disk immediately corresponded to the centre of the bottom of the well. These preliminaries being fixed, Eratosthenes set about his observation thus:

On the day of the summer solstice, at the moment the sun was stationary in the meridian of Syene, he placed a style perpendicularly in the bottom of a half-concave sphere, which he exposed in open air to the sun at Alexandria. Now, if that style had cast no shade at Alexandria, it would have been precisely in the same circumstance with a style in the well at Syene; and the reason of its not casting the shade would have been, that the sun was directly vertical to it. But he found, on the contrary, this style at Alexandria did cast a shadow; and, by measuring the distance of the top of this shadow from the top of the style, he found, that, when the sun cast no shadow at Syene, by being in the zenith, at Alexandria it projected a shadow, which shewed he was distant from the vertical point, or zenith, $7^\circ\frac{1}{5}=7^\circ\ 12'$, which was $\frac{1}{50}$th of the circumference of the whole heavens, or of a great circle.

This being settled, the conclusion was, that Alexandria and Syene must be distant from each other by the 50th part of the circumference of the whole earth.

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* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 133.

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Now 5000 stades was the distance already assumed between Alexandria and the well of Syene; and all that was to be done was to repeat 5000 stades fifty times, or multiply 5000 stades by 50, and the answer was 250,000 stades, which was the total of the earth's circumference. This, admitting the French contents of the Egyptian stadium to be just, will amount to 11,403 leagues for the circumference of the earth sought; and, as our present account fixes it to be 9000, the error will be 2403 leagues in excess, or more than one fourth of the whole sum required *.

This observation surely, therefore, is not worth recording, unless to shew the insufficiency or imperfection of the method; it cannot deserve the encomiums that have been bestowed upon it, if justice has been done to Eratosthenes' geodesique measures, which I do not, by any manner of means, warrant to be the case, because the measure of his arch of the meridian seems to have been conducted with a much greater degree of success and precision than that of his base.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th of January, being at Syene, in a house immediately east of the small island in the Nile (where the temple of Cnuphis is still standing, very little injured, and which Strabo †, who was himself there, says was in the ancient town, and near the well built for the observation of the solstice) with a three-foot brass quadrant, made by Langlois, and described by Monsieur de la Lande ‡, by a mean of three observations of the sun in the meridian, I

* Spectacle de la Nature.
† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 94.
‡ L'histoire d'astronomie, de M. de la Lande, vol. i. lib. 2.

concluded the latitude of Syene to be 24° 0′ 45″ north.

And, as the latitude of Alexandria, by a medium of many observations made by the French academicians, and more recently by Mr Niebuhr and myself, is beyond possibility of contradiction 41° 11′ 35″ the arch of the meridian, contained between Syene and Alexandria, must be 70° 10′ 46″, or 1′ 12″ less than Eratosthenes made it. And this is a wonderful precision, if we consider the imperfection of his instrument, in the probable shortness of his radius, and difficulty (almost insurmountable) in distinguishing the division of the penumbra.

There certainly is one error very apparent in measuring the base betwixt Syene and Alexandria; that is, they were not (as supposed) under the same meridian; for, though, to my very great concern afterwards, I had no opportunity of fixing the longitude at this first visit to Syene, as I had done the latitude, yet on my return in the year 1772, from an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter, I found its longitude to be 33° 30′; and the longitude of Alexandria, being 30° 16′ 7″, there is 3° 14′ that Syene is to the eastward of the meridian of Alexandria, or so far from their being under the same meridian as supposed.

It is impossible to fix the time of the building of Syene; upon the most critical examination of its hieroglyphics and proportions, I should imagine it to have been founded some time after Thebes, but before Dendera, Luxor, or Carnac.

It would be no less curious to know, whether the well, which Eratosthenes made use of for one of the terms of the geodesique base, and his arch of the meridian, between Alexandria and Syene, was coëval with the building of that city, or whether it was made

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for the experiment. I should be inclined to think the former was the case; and the placing this city first, then the well under the tropic, were with a view of ascertaining the length of the solar year. In short, this point, so material to be settled, was the constant object of attention of the first astronomers, and this was the use of the dial of Osimandyas; this inquiry was the occasion of the number of obelisks raised in every ancient city of Egypt. We cannot mistake this, if we observe how anxiously they have varied the figure of the top, or point, of each obelisk; sometimes, it is a very sharp one; sometimes a portion of a circle, to try to get rid of the great impediment that perplexed them, the penumbra *.

The projection of the pavements, constantly to the northward, so diligently levelled, and made into exact planes, by large slabs of granite, most artificially joined, have been so substantially secured, that they might serve for the observation to this day; and, it is probable, the position of this city and the well were coëval, the result of intention, and both the works of these first astronomers, immediately after the building of Thebes. If this was the case, we may conclude, that the fact of the sun illuminating the bottom of the well, in Eratosthenes's time, was a supposed one, from the uniform tradition, that once it had been so, the periodical change of the quantity of the angle, made by the equator and ecliptic, not being then known, and, therefore, that the quantity of the celestial arch,

* This theory of antient Egyptian astronomy is perhaps much too specious. But the solar year was known to Moses, about 1531 before Christ, who regulates according to it the events of the deluge, computed to have occurred at least 2328 years before the incarnation.—E.

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comprehended between Alexandria and Syene, might be as erroneous from another cause, as the base had been by assuming a wrong distance on the earth, in place of one exactly measured.

There is at Axum an obelisk erected by Ptolemy Evergetes, the very prince who was patron to Eratosthenes, without hieroglyphics, directly facing the south, with its top first cut into a narrow neck, then spread out like a fan, in a semicircular form, with a pavement curiously levelled to receive the shade, and make the separation of the true shadow from the penumbra as distinct as possible.

This was probably intended for verifying the experiment of Eratosthenes with a larger radius; for, by this obelisk, we must not imagine Ptolemy intended to observe the obliquity of the ecliptic at Axum.—Though it was true, that Axum, by its situation, was a very proper place, the sun passing over that city and obelisk twice a-year, yet it was equally true, that from another circumstance, which he might have been acquainted with at less expence of time than building the obelisk would have cost him, that he himself could not make any use of the sun's being twice vertical to Axum; for the sun is vertical at Axum about the 25th of April, and again about the 20th of August; and, at both these seasons, the heaven is so overcast with clouds, and the rain so continual, especially at mid-day, that it would be a wonder indeed, if Ptolemy had once seen the sun during the months he staid there.

Though Syene by its situation should be healthy, the general complaint is a weakness and soreness in the eyes; and this not a temporary one only, but generally ending in blindness of one, or both eyes; you scarce ever see a person in the street that sees

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with both. They say it is owing to the hot wind from the desert; and this I apprehend to be true, by the violent soreness and inflammation we were troubled with in our return home, through the Great Desert, to Syene.

We had now finished every thing we had to do at Syene, and prepared to descend the Nile. After having been quiet, and well used so long, we did not expect any altercation at parting; we thought we had contented every body, and we were perfectly content with them. But, unluckily for us, our landlord, the Schourbatchie, upon whom I had my credit, and who had distinguished himself by being very serviceable and obliging to us, happened to be the *proprietor* of a boat, for which, at that time, having *little* employment, nothing would satisfy him but my hiring that boat, instead of returning in that which brought us up.

This could by no means be done, without breaking faith with our Rais, Abou Cuffi, which I was resolved not to do on any account whatever, as the man had behaved honestly and well in every respect. The janizaries took the part of their brother against the stranger, and threatened to cut Abou Cuffi to pieces, and throw him to the crocodiles.

On the other part, he was very far from being terrified. He told them roundly, that he was a servant of Ali Bey; that, if they attempted to take his fare from him, their pay should be stopped at Cairo, till they surrendered the guilty person to do him justice. He laughed most unaffectedly at the notion of cutting him to pieces; and declared, that if he was to complain of the usage he met with when he went down to Lower Egypt, there would not be a janizary from Syene, who would not be in much greater danger of crocodiles than he.

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I went in the evening to the Aga, and complained of my landlord's behaviour. I told him positively, but with great shew of respect, I would rather go down the Nile upon a *raft*, than set my foot in any other boat but the one that brought me up. I begged him to be cautious how he proceeded, as it would be *my story*, and not *his*, that would go to the Bey. This grave and resolute appearance had the effect. The Schourbatchie was sent for, and reprimanded, as were all those that sided with him; while, privately, to calm all animosities against my Rais, I promised him a piece of green cloth, which was his wish; and so heartily were we reconciled, that the next day, he made his servants help Abou Cuffi to put our baggage on board the boat.

The Aga hinted to me, in conversation, that he wondered at my departure, as he heard my intention was to go to Ibrim and Deir. I told him, those garrisons had a bad name; that a Danish gentleman, some years ago, going up thither, with orders from the government of Cairo, was plundered, and very nearly assassinated, by Ibrahim, casheff of Deir. He looked surprised, shook his head, and seemed not to give me credit; but I persisted, in the terms of Mr Norden's * Narrative; and told him, the brother of the Aga of Syene was along with him at the time. "Will any person," said he, "tell me that a man who is in my hands once a-month, who has not an ounce of bread but what I furnish him from this garrison, and whose pay would be stopt (as your Rais truly said) on the first complaint transmitted to Cairo, could assassinate a man with Ali Bey's orders, and my

* Vide Mr Norden's Voyage up the Nile.

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brother along with him? Why, what do you think he is? I shall send a servant to the Casheff of Deir to-morrow, who shall bring him down by the beard, if he refuses to come willingly." I said, "Then times were very much changed for the better; it was not always so; there was not always at Cairo a sovereign like Ali Bey, nor at Syene, a man of his prudence, and capacity in commanding; but having no business at Deir and Ibrim, I should not risk finding them in another humour, exercising other powers than those he allowed them to have."

The 26th we embarked at the north end of the town, in the very spot where I again took boat above three years afterwards. We now no longer enjoyed the advantage of our prodigious main-sail; not only our yards were lowered, but our masts were taken out; and we floated down the current, making the figure of a wreck. The current, pushing against one of our sides, the wind directly contrary, pressing us on the other, we went down *broad side foremost*; but so steadily, as scarcely to be sensible that the vessel was in motion.

In the evening I stopt at Shekh Ammer, and saw my patient Nimmer, Shekh of the Ababdé. I found him a great deal better, and as thankful as ever; I renewed my prescriptions, and he his offers of service.

I was visited, however, by a pretty smart degree of fever by hunting crocodiles on the Nile as I went down, without any possibility of getting near them.

On the 31st of January we arrived at Negadé, the fourth settlement of the Franciscan friars in Upper Egypt, for the pretended mission of Ethiopia. I found it to be in lat. 25° 53′ 30″. It is a small neat village, covered with palm-trees, and mostly

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inhabited by Cophts, none of whom the friars have yet converted, nor ever will, unless by small pensions, which they give to the poorest of them, to be decoy-ducks to the rest.

Opposite to Negadé, on the other side of the river about three miles, is Cus, a large town, the Apollonis Civitas Parva of the ancients. There are no antiquities at this place; but the caravan, which was to carry the corn for Mecca, across the desert to Cosseir, was to assemble there. I found they were not near ready; and that the Arabs Atouni had threatened they would be in their way, and would not suffer them to pass, at any rate, and that the guard commanded to escort them across the desert, would come from Furshout, and therefore I should have early warning.

It was the 2d of February I returned to Badjoura, and took up my quarters in the house formerly assigned me, greatly to the joy of Shekh Ismael, who, though he was in the main reconciled to his friend, friar Christopher, had not yet forgot the wounding of the five men by his miscalculating Ramadan; and was not without fears that the same inadvertence might, some day or other, be fatal to him, in his pleurisy and asthma, or, what is still more likely, by the operation of the tabange.

As I was now about to enter on that part of my expedition, in which I was to have no further intercourse with Europe, I set myself to work to examine all my observations, and put my journal in such forwardness by explanations where needful, that the labours and pains I had hitherto been at, might not be totally lost to the public, if I should perish in the journey I had undertaken, which, from all information I could procure, every day appeared to be more and more desperate.

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Having finished these, at least so far as to make them intelligible to others, I conveyed them to my friends Messrs Julian and Rosa, at Cairo, to remain in their custody till I should return, or news come that I was otherwise disposed of.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Author sets out from Kenné—Crosses the Desert of the Thebaid—Visits the Marble Mountains —Arrives at Cosseir, on the Red Sea—Transactions there.

On Thursday, the 16th of February 1769 *, we heard the caravan was ready to set out from Kenné, the Cæne Emporium of antiquity. From Kenné our road was first east, for half an hour, to the foot of the hills, which here bounded the cultivated land; then S. E. when, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, we passed a very dirty small village, called Sheraffa. All the way from Kenné, close on our left, were desert hills, on which not the least verdure grew, but a few plants of a large species of Solanum, called Burrumbuc.

At half past two we came to a well, called Bir Ambar, the well of spices, and a dirty village of the same name, belonging to the Azaizy, a poor inconsiderable tribe of Arabs. They live by letting out their cattle for hire to the caravans that go to Cosseir, and attending themselves, when necessary. It got its name, I suppose, from its having formerly been a station of the caravans from the Red Sea, loaded with this kind of merchandise from India. The houses of

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* The date here should be Thursday, March 16, 1769.—See the letter to Mr Wood from Mr Bruce, at Gondar, in Appendix to Vol. I.

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the Azaizy are of a very particular construction, if they can be called houses. They are all made of potter-clay, in one piece, in shape of a bee hive; the largest is not above ten feet high, and the greatest diameter six.

There are no vestiges here of any canal, mentioned to have been cut between the Nile and the Red Sea. The cultivated land here is not above half a mile in extent from the river, but the inundation of the Nile reaches much higher, nor has it left behind it any appearance of soil. After passing Bir Ambar, we pitched our tent about four o'clock at Gabba *, a short mile from Cuft, on the borders of the desert—here we passed the night.

On the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, having mounted my servants, all on horseback, and taken the charge of our own camels, (for there was a confusion in our caravan not to be described, and our guards we knew were but a set of thieves), we advanced slowly into the desert. There were about two hundred men on horseback, armed with firelocks; all of them lions, if you believe their word or appearance; but we were credibly informed, that fifty of the Arabs, at first sight, would have made these heroes fly without any bloodshed.

I had not gone two miles before I was joined by the Howadat Arab, whom I had brought with me in the boat from Cairo. He offered me his service with great professions of gratitude, and told me, that he hoped I would again take charge of his money, as I had before done from Cairo. It was now for the first time he told me his name, which was Mahomet Abd-el Gin, "the Slave of the Devil, or the Spirit."

* It is no town, but some sand and a few bushes, so called.

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There is a large tribe of that name, many of which came to Cairo from the kingdom of Sennaar; but he had been born among the Howadat, opposite to Metrahenny where I found him.

Our road was all the way in an open plain, bounded by hillocks of sand, and fine gravel, perfectly hard, and not perceptibly above the level of the plain country of Egypt. About twelve miles distant there is a ridge of mountains of no considerable height, perhaps the most barren in the world. Between these our road lay through plains, never three miles broad, but without trees, shrubs, or herbs. There are not even the traces of any living creature, neither serpent nor lizard, antelope nor ostrich, the usual inhabitants of the most dreary deserts. There is no sort of water on the surface, brackish or sweet. Even the birds seem to avoid the place as pestilential, not having seen one of any kind so much as flying over. The sun was burning hot, and, upon rubbing two sticks together, in half a minute they both took fire, and flamed; a mark how near the country was reduced to a general conflagration!

At half past three, we pitched our tent near some draw-well, which, upon tasting, we found bitterer than soot. We had, indeed, other water carried by the camels in skins. This well-water had only one needful quality; it was cold, and therefore very comfortable for refreshing us outwardly. This unpleasant station is called Legeta; here we were obliged to pass the night, and all next day, to wait the arrival of the caravans of Cus, Esné, and part of those of Cenné and Ebanout.

While at the wells of Legeta, my Arab, Abd-el Gin, came to me with his money, which had increased now to nineteen sequins and a half. "What!" said I, "Mahomet, are you never safe among your

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countrymen, neither by sea nor land?" "Oh, no," replied Mahomet; "the difference, when we were on board the boat, was, we had three thieves only; but, when assembled here, we shall have above three thousand.—But I have an advice to give you."—"And my ears," said I, "Mahomet, are always open to advice, especially in strange countries."—"These people," continued Mahomet, "are all afraid of the Atouni Arabs; and, when attacked, they will run away, and leave you in the hand of these Atouni, who will carry off your baggage. Therefore, as you have nothing to do with their corn, do not kill any of the Atouni if they come, for that will be a bad affair, but go aside, and let me manage. I will answer with my life, though all the caravan should be stripped stark-naked, and you loaded with gold, not one article belonging to you shall be touched." I questioned him very particularly about this intimation, as it was an affair of much consequence, and I was so well satisfied, that I resolved to conform strictly to it.

In the evening came twenty Turks from Caramania, which is that part of Asia Minor immediately on the side of the Mediterranean opposite to the coast of Egypt; all of them neatly and cleanly dressed like Turks, all on camels, armed with swords, a pair of pistols at their girdle, and a short neat gun; their arms were in very good order, with their flints and ammunition stowed in cartridge-boxes, in a very soldier-like manner. A few of these spoke Arabic, and my Greek servant, Michael, interpreted for the rest. Having been informed, that the large tent belonged to an Englishman, they came into it without ceremony. They told me, that they were a number of neighbours and companions, who had set out together to go to Mecca, to the Hadje; and not know-

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ing the language, or customs of the people, they had been but indifferently used since they landed at Alexandria, particularly somewhere (as I guessed) about Achmim; that one of the Owam, or swimming thieves, had been on board of them in the night, and had carried off a small portmanteau with about 200 sequins in gold; that, though a complaint had been made to the Bey of Girgé, yet no satisfaction had been obtained; and that now they had heard an Englishman was here, whom they reckoned their countryman, they had come to propose, that we should make a common cause to defend each other against all enemies. What they meaned by countryman was this:—

There is, in Asia Minor, somewhere between Anatolia and Caramania, a district which they call Caz Dagli, corruptly Caz Dangli, and this the Turks believe was the country from which the English first drew their origin; and, on this account, they never fail to claim kindred with the English wherever they meet, especially if they stand in need of their assistance.

I told them the arrangement I had taken with the Arab. At first they thought it was too much confidence to place in him; but I convinced them, that it was greatly diminishing our risk, and, let the worst come to the worst, I was well satisfied that, armed as we were, on foot, we were more than sufficient to beat the Atouni, after they had defeated the clownish caravan of Egypt, from whose courage we certainly had nothing to expect.

I cannot conceal the secret pleasure I had in finding the character of my country so firmly established among nations so distant, enemies to our religion, and strangers to our government. Turks from Mount Taurus, and Arabs from the desert of Lybia, thought

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themselves unsafe among their own countrymen, but trusted their lives and their little fortunes implicitly to the direction and word of an Englishman, whom they had never before seen.

These Turks seemed to be above the middling rank of people; each of them had his little cloak-bag very neatly packed up; and they gave me to understand that there was money in it. These they placed in my servant's tent, and chained them altogether, round the middle pillar of it; for it was easy to see the Arabs of the caravan had those packages in view, from the first moment of the Turks' arrival.

We staid all the 18th at Legeta, waiting for the junction of the caravans, and departed the 19th at six o'clock in the morning. Our journey, all that day, was through a plain, never less than a mile broad, and never broader than three; the hills, on our right and left, were higher than the former, and of a brownish calcined colour, like the stones on the sides of Mount Vesuvius, but without any herb or tree upon them.

At half past ten, we passed a mountain of green and red marble, and at twelve we entered a plain, called Hamra, where we first observed the sand red, with a purple cast, of the colour of porphyry; and this is the signification of Hamra, the name of the valley. I dismounted here, to examine of what the rocks were composed; and found, with the greatest pleasure, that here began the quarries of porphyry, without the mixture of any other stone; but it was imperfect, brittle, and soft. I had not been engaged in this pursuit an hour, before we were alarmed with a report that the Atouni had attacked the rear of the caravan; we were at the head of it. The Turks and my servants were all drawn together, at the foot of the mountain, and posted as advantageously as possible. But it soon appeared that they were some thieves on-

ly, who had attempted to steal some loads of corn from camels that were weak, or fallen lame, perhaps in intelligence with those of our own caravans.

All the rest of the afternoon, we saw mountains of a perfectly purple colour, all of them porphyry; nor has Ptolemy * much erred in the position of them. About four o'clock, we pitched our tent at a place called Main el Mafarek. The colour of the valley El Hamra continued to this station; and it was very singular to observe, that the ants, or pismires, the only living creatures I had yet observed, were all of a beautiful red colour like the sand.

The 20th, at six o'clock in the morning, we left Main el Mafarek, and, at ten, came to the mouth of the defiles. At eleven, we began to descend, having had a very imperceptible ascent from Kenné all the way.

We were now indemnified for the sameness of our natural productions yesterday; for, on each side of the plain, we found different sorts of marble, twelve kinds of which I selected, and took with me.

At noon, we came to a plain planted with acacia-trees, at equal distances; single trees, spreading broader than usual, as if on purpose to proportion the refreshment they gave to the number of travellers, who stood in need of it. This is a station of the Atouni Arabs after rain. From our leaving Legeta, we had no water that, nor the following day.

On the right-hand side of this plain we found porphyry and granite, of very beautiful kinds. All the way, on both sides of the valley, this day, the mountains were of porphyry, and a very few of stone.

At a quarter past four, we encamped at Koraim, a

* Ptol. Almag. lib, 4. Geograph. p. 104.

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small plain, perfectly barren, consisting of fine gravel, sand, and stones, with a few acacia-trees, interspersed throughout.

The 21st, we departed early in the morning from Koraim, and, at ten o'clock, we passed several defiles, perpetually alarmed by a report, that the Arabs were approaching; none of whom we ever saw. We then proceeded through several defiles, into a long plain, that turns to the east, then north-east, and north, so as to make a portion of a circle. At the end of this plain we came to a mountain, the greatest part of which was of the marble, *verde antico*, as it is called in Rome, but by far the most beautiful of the kind I had ever seen.

Having passed this, we had mountains on both sides of us, but particularly on our right. The only ones that I examined were of a kind of granite, with reddish veins throughout, with triangular and square black spots. These mountains continued to Mesag el Terfowey, where we encamped at twelve o'clock: we were obliged to bring our water from about five miles to the south-east. This water does not appear to be from springs; it lies in cavities and grottos in the rocks, of which there are twelve in number, whether hollowed by nature or art is more than I can solve. Great and abundant rains fall here in February. The clouds, breaking on the tops of these mountains, in their way to Abyssinia, fill these cisterns with large supplies, which the impending rocks secure from evaporation.

It was the first fresh water we had tasted since we left the Nile; and the only water of any kind since we left Legeta. But such had been the foresight of our caravan, that very few resorted thither, having all laid in abundant store from the Nile; and some of

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them a quantity sufficient to serve them till their return. This was not our case. We had water, it is true, from the Nile; but we never thought we could have too much, as long as there was room in our water-skins to hold more; I, therefore, went early with my camel-drivers, expecting to have seen some antelopes, which every night come to drink from the well, having no opportunity to do it throughout the day.

I had not concealed myself half an hour, above a narrow path, leading to the principal cave, before I saw, first, one antelope walking very stately alone; then, four others, closely following him. Although I was wholly hid as long as I lay still, he seemed to have discerned me from the instant that I saw him. I should have thought it had been the smell that had discovered me, had I not used the precaution of carrying a piece of burnt turf along with me, and left one with my horse likewise; perhaps, it was this unusual smell that terrified him. Whatever was the cause, he advanced apparently in fear, and seemed to be trusted with the care of the flock, as the rest testified no apprehension, but were rather sporting, or fighting with each other. Still he advanced slower, and with great caution; but, being perfectly within reach, I did not think proper any longer to risk the whole from a desire to acquire a greater number. I shot him so justly, that giving one leap five or six feet high, he fell dead upon his head. I fired at the rest, retiring all in a crowd; killed one likewise, and lamed another, who fled to the mountains, where darkness protected him. We were perfectly content with our acquisition, and the nature of the place did not prompt us to look after the wounded. We continued at the well to assist our companions who came

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in want of water, a duty with which necessity bound us to comply.

We returned near midnight with our game and our water. We found our tents all lighted, which, at that time of night, was unusual. I thought, however, it was on account of my absence, and to guide me the surer home. We were, however, surprised, when, coming within a moderate distance of our tent, we heard the word called for; I answered immediately, Charlotte; and, upon our arrival, we perceived the Turks were parading round the tents in arms, and soon after our Howadat Arab came to us, and with him a messenger from Sidi Hassan, desiring me to come instantly to his tent, while my servants advised me first to hear what they had to say to me in mine.

I soon, therefore, perceived that all was not well, and I returned my compliments to Hassan, adding, that, if he had any thing to say to me so late, he would do well to come, or send, as it was past my hour of visiting in the desert, especially as I had eat nothing, and was tired with having the charge of the water. I gave orders to my servants to put out all the extraordinary lights, as that seemed to be a mark of fear; but forbade any one to sleep, excepting those who had the charge of our beasts, and had been fetching the water.

I found that, while our people had been asleep, two persons had got into the tent and attempted to steal one of the portmanteaus; but, as they were chained together, and the tent-pole in the middle, the noise had awakened my servants, who had seized one of the men; and that the Turks had intended instantly to have dispatched him with their knives, and with great difficulty had been prevented by my servants, according to my constant orders; for I wished

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to avoid all extremities, upon such occasions, when possible. They had indeed leave to deal about with their sticks as freely as their prudence suggested to them; and they had gone, in this case, fully beyond the ordinary limits of discretion, especially Abd-el-gin, who was the first to seize the robber. In short, they had dealt so liberally with these, that the thief was only known to be living by his groans, and they had thrown him at a small distance, for any person to own him that pleased. It appeared that he was a servant of Sidi Hassan, an Egyptian slave or servant to Shekh Hamam, who conducted, or commanded the caravan, if there had been any conduct, or command, in it.

There were with me ten servants, all completely armed; twenty-five Turks, who seemed worthy to be depended upon, and four janizaries, who had joined us from Cairo, so that there were forty men of us perfectly armed, besides attendants on the cattle.—As there were people with us, who knew the wells, and also a friend who was acquainted with the Atouni, nothing, even in a desert, could reasonably alarm us.

With great difficulty we pulled down an old acacia-tree, and procured some old dried camels' dung, with which we roasted our two antelopes: very ill roasted they were; and execrable meat, though they had been ever so well dressed, and had the best sauce in Christendom. However, we were in the desert, and every thing was acceptable. We had some spirits, which finished our repast that night: it was exceedingly cold, and we sat thick about the fire.

Five men with firelocks, and a number of Arabs with lances, having come towards us, and being challenged by the centinel for not giving the word, were then desired to stand, or they would be fired upon.

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They all cried out, "*Salam Alicum!*" and I intimated that any three of them might come forward, but desired them to keep away the Arabs. Three of them accordingly came, and then two more. They delivered a message from Sidi Hassan, that my people had killed a man; they desired that the murderer might be delivered to them, and that I should come to his tent, and see justice done. I told them, "that none of my people, however provoked, would put a man to death in my absence, unless in defence of their own lives; that, if I had been there, I should certainly have ordered them to fire upon a thief catched in the act of stealing within my tent; but, since he was dead, I was satisfied as to him, only expected that Sidi Hassan would give me up his companion, who had fled; that, as it was near morning, I should meet him, when the caravan decamped, and hear what he had to say in his defence. In the mean time, I forbade any person to come near my tent, or quarters, on any pretence whatever, till day-light."—Away they went, murmuring, but what they said I did not understand. We heard no more of them, and none of us slept. All of us, however, repeated our vows of standing by each other; and we afterwards found, that we had stood in the way of a common practice of stripping these poor strangers, the Turks, who came every year this road to Mecca.

At dawn of day, the caravan was all in motion. They had got intelligence, that, two days before, 300 Atouni had watered at Terfowey; and, indeed, there were marks of great resort at the well, where we filled the water. We had agreed not to load one of our camels, but let the caravan go on before us, and meet the Atouni first; that I only should go on horseback, about two hundred yards into the plain

from the tent, and all the rest should follow me on foot, with arms in their hands.

Hassan, too, was mounted on horseback, with about a hundred of his myrmidons, and a number of Arabs on foot. He sent me word, that I was to advance, with only two servants; but I returned for answer, that I had no intention to advance at all; that, if he had any business, he should say so, and that I would meet him one to one, or three to six, just as he pleased. He sent me again word, that he wanted to communicate the intelligence he had of the Atouni, to put me on my guard. I returned for answer, that I was already upon my guard, against all thieves, and did not make any distinction if people were thieves themselves, or encouraged others to be so, or whether they were Atouni or Ababdé. He then sent me a message, that it was a cold morning, and wished I would give him a dish of coffee, and keep those strangers away. I therefore desired one of my servants to bring the coffee-pot, and directing my people to sit down, I rode up to him, and dismounted, as he did also, when twenty or thirty of his vagabonds came, and sat down likewise. He said he was exceedingly surprised, after sending to me last night, that I did not come to him; that the whole camp was in murmur at beating the man, and that it was all that he could do to hinder his soldiers from falling upon us, and extirpating us all at once; that I did wrong to protect those Turks, who carried always money to Mecca for merchandise, and defrauded them of their dues.

My servant having just poured out a dish of coffee to him, I said, "Stay, sir, till we know whether we are in peace. Sidi Hassan, if that is the way of levying dues upon the Turks, to send thieves to rob them in my tent, you should advise me first of it, and

then we should have settled the business. With regard to your preventing people from murdering me, it is a boast so ridiculous that I laugh at it. Those pale-faced fellows, who are about you muffled up in burnooses for fear of cold in the morning, are they capable to look janizaries in the face, like mine? Speak lowly, and in Arabic, when you talk at this rate, or, perhaps, it will not be in my power to return you the compliment you did me last night, or hinder them from killing you on the spot!" "Were ever such works spoken!" said a man behind; "tell me, master, are you a king?" "If Sidi Hassan," answered I, "is your master, and you speak to me on this occasion, you are a wretch! get out of my sight! I swear I will not drink a dish of coffee while you are here, and will mount my horse directly"

I then rose, and the servant took back the coffee-pot; upon which Hassan ordered his servant out of his presence, saying, "No, no; give me the coffee if we are in peace;" and he drank it accordingly.—"Now," says he, "past is past; the Atouni are to meet us at the mouth of Beder *; your people are better armed than mine, are Turks, and used to fighting. I wish you to go foremost, and we will take charge of your camels, though my people have 4000 of their own, and they have enough to do to take charge of the corn." "And I," said I, "if I wanted water or provision, would go to meet the Atouni, who would use me well. Why, you don't know to whom you are speaking, nor that the Atouni are Arabs

* The Arabs call these narrow passes in the mountains Fum, as the Hebrews did Pi, the mouth. Fum el Beder, is the mouth of Beder; Fum el Terfowey, the mouth, or passage of Terfowey; Piha Hhiroth, the mouth of the valley cut through with ravines.

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of Ali Bey, and that I am his man of confidence, going to the sheriffe of Mecca? The Atouni will not hurt us; but, as you say you are commander of the caravan, we have all sworn we will not fire a shot, till we see you heartily engaged; and then we will do our best to hinder the Arabs from stealing the sheriff of Mecca's corn for his sake only." They all cried out, "El Fedtah! El Fedtah!" so, I said the prayer of peace as a proxy; for none of the Turks would come near him.

Opposite to where we encamped is Terfowey, a large mountain, partly green marble, partly granite, with a red blush upon a grey ground, with square oblong spots. About forty yards within the narrow valley, which separates this mountain from its neighbour, we saw a part of the fust or shaft of a monstrous obelisk of marble, very nearly square, broken at the end, and towards the top. It was nearly thirty feet long, and nineteen feet in the face; about two feet of the bottom were perfectly insulated, and one whole side separated from the mountain. The gully had been widened and levelled, and the road made quite up to underneath the block.

We saw likewise, throughout the plain, small pieces of jasper, having green, white, and red spots, called in Italy, Diaspo Sanguineo. All the mountains on both sides of the plain seemed to be of the same sort; whether they really were so or not, I will not say, having had no time to examine them.

The 22d, at half past one in the morning, we set out full of terror about the Atouni. We continued in a direction nearly east, till at three we came to the defiles; but it was so dark, that it was impossible to discern of what the country on each side consisted. At day-break, we found ourselves at the bottom of a mountain of granite, bare like the former.

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We saw quantities of small pieces of various sorts of granite and porphyry scattered over the plain, which had been carried down by a torrent, probably from quarries of ancient ages; these were white, mixed with black spots; red, with green veins, and black spots. After this, all the mountains on the right hand were of red marble, in prodigious abundance, but of no great beauty. They continued, as the granite did, for several miles along the road, while the opposite side was all of dead green, supposed serpentine marble.

It was one of the most extraordinary sights I ever saw. The former mountains were of considerable height, without a tree, or shrub, or blade of grass upon them; but these now before us had all the appearance, the one of having been sprinkled over with Havannah, the other with Brazil snuff. I wondered, that, as the red is nearest the sea, and the ships going down the Abyssinian coast observe this appearance within lat. 26°, writers have not imagined this was called the Red Sea upon that account, rather than for the many weak reasons they have relied upon.

About eight o'clock we began to descend smartly, and, half an hour after, entered into another defile like those before described, having mountains of green marble on every side of us. At nine, on our left, we saw the highest mountain we had yet passed. We found it, upon examination, to be composed of serpentine marble; and, through about one-third of the thickness, ran a large vein of jasper, green, spotted with red. Its exceeding hardness was such, as not to yield to the blows of a hammer; but the works of old times were more apparent in it, than in any mountain we had seen. Ducts, or channels, for carrying water transversely, were observed evidently to termi-

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nate in this quarry of jasper: a proof that water was one of the means used in cutting those hard stones.

About ten o'clock, descending very rapidly, with green marble and jasper on each side of us, but no other green thing whatever, we had the first prospect of the Red Sea, and, at a quarter past eleven, we arrived at Cosseir. It has been a wonder among all travellers, and with myself among the rest, where the ancients procured that prodigious quantity of fine marble, with which all their buildings abound. That wonder, however, among many others, now ceases, after having passed, in four days, more granite, porphyry, marble, and jasper, than would build Rome, Athens, Corinth, Syracuse, Memphis, Alexandria, and half a dozen such cities. It seemed to be very visible, that those openings in the hills, which I call defiles, were not natural, but artificial; and that whole mountains had been cut out at these places, to preserve a slope towards the Nile as gentle as possible: this, I suppose, might be a descent of about one foot in fifty, at most: so that, from the mountains to the Nile, those heavy carriages must have moved with as little draught as possible, and, at the same time, been sufficiently impeded by friction, so as not to run amain, or acquire an increased velocity, against which, also, there must have been other provisions contrived. As I made another excursion to these marble mountains from Cosseir, I will, once for all, here set down what I observed concerning their natural appearance.

The porphyry shews itself by a fine purple sand, without any gloss or glitter on it, and is exceedingly agreeable to the eye. It is mixed with the native white sand, and fixed gravel of the plains. Green unvariegated marble is generally seen in the same mountain with the porphyry. Where the two veins

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meet, the marble is for some inches brittle, but the porphyry of the same hardness as in other places.

The granite is covered with sand, and looks like stone of a dirty brown colour. But this is only the change and impression the sun and weather have made upon it; for, upon breaking it, you see it is grey granite, with black spots, with a reddish cast, or blush over it. This red seems to fade and suffer from the outward air, but, upon working or polishing the surface, this colour again appears. It is in greater quantity than the porphyry, and nearer the Red Sea. Pompey's Pillar seems to have been from this quarry.

Next to the granite, but never, as I observed, joined with it in the same mountain, is the red marble. It is covered with sand of the same colour, and looks as if the whole mountains were spread over with brick-dust. There is also a red marble with white veins, which I have often seen at Rome, but not in principal subjects; I have also seen it in Britain. The common green (called serpentine) looks as if covered over with Brazil snuff. Joined with this green, I saw two samples of that beautiful marble they call Isabella; one of them with a yellowish cast, which we call Quaker-colour; the other with a bluish, which is commonly termed Dove-colour. These two seem to divide the respective mountains with the serpentine. In this green, likewise, it was we saw the vein of jasper; but whether it was absolutely the same with this, which is the bloody jasper, or blood-stone, is what we had not time to settle.

I should first have made mention of the verde antico, the dark green with white irregular spots, because it is of the greatest value, and nearest the Nile. This is produced in the mountains of the plain green, or serpentine, as is the jasper, and is not discoverable by the dust, or any particular colour upon it. First,

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there is a blue flaky stone, exceedingly even and smooth in the grain, solid, and without sparks or colour. When broken, it is something lighter than a slate, and more beautiful than most marble; it is like the lava of volcanoes, when polished. After lifting this, we come to the beds of verde antico; and here the quarrying is very obvious, for it has been uncovered in patches, not above twenty feet square. Then, in another part, the green stone has been removed, and another pit of it wrought.

I saw, in several places in the plain, small pieces of African marble, scattered about, but no rocks or mountains of it. I suppose it is found in the heart of some other coloured marble, and in strata, like the jasper and verde antico; and, I suspect, in the mountains of Isabella marble, especially of the yellowest sort of it; but this is mere conjecture. This prodigious store of marble is placed upon a ridge, whence there is a descent to the east or west, either to the Nile or Red Sea. The level ground and hard fixed gravel are proper for the heaviest carriages, and will easily and smoothly convey any weight whatever to its place of embarkation on the Nile; so that another wonder ceased, how the ancients transported those vast blocks to Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria.

Cosseir is a small mud-walled village, built upon the shore, among hillocks of floating sand. It is defended by a square fort of hewn stone, with square towers in the angles, which have in them three small cannon of iron, and one of brass, all in very bad condition; of no other use but to terrify the Arabs, and hinder them from plundering the town when full of corn, going to Mecca in time of famine. The walls are not high; nor was it necessary, if the great guns were in order. But as this is not the case, the ramparts are heightened by clay,

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or by mud-walls, to screen the soldiers from the fire-arms of the Arabs, that might otherwise command them from the sandy hills in the neighbourhood.

There are several wells of brackish water on the N. W. of the castle, which, for experiment's sake, I made drinkable, by filtering it through sand; but the water in use is brought from Terfowey, a good day's journey off.

The port, if we may call it so, is on the south-east of the town. It is nothing but a rock, which runs out about four hundred yards into the sea, and defends the vessels, which ride to the west of it, from the north and north-east winds, as the houses of the town cover them from the north-west.

There is a large inclosure with a high mud-wall, and, within, every merchant has a shop or magazine for his corn and merchandize: little of this last is imported, unless coarse India goods, for the consumption of Upper Egypt itself, since the trade to Dongola and Sennaar has been interrupted.

I had orders from Shekh Hamam to lodge in the castle. But a few hours before my arrival, Hussein Bey Abou Kersh landed from Mecca, and Jidda, and he had taken up the apartments which were destined for me. He was one of those Beys which Ali Bey had defeated, and driven from Cairo. He was called Abou Kersh, i. e. Father Belly, from being immoderately fat; his adversity had brought him a little into shapes. My servants, who had gone before, thinking that a friend of the Bey in power was better than an enemy outlawed, and banished by him, had inadvertently put some of my baggage into the castle just when this potentate was taking possession. Swords were immediately drawn, death and destruc-

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tion threatened to my poor servants, who fled and hid themselves till I arrived.

Upon their complaint, I told them they had acted improperly; that a sovereign was a sovereign all the world over; and it was not my business to make a difference, whether he was in power or not. I easily procured a house, and sent a janizary of the four that had joined us from Cairo, with my compliments to the Bey, desiring a restitution of my baggage, and that he would excuse the ignorance of my servants, who did not know that he was at Cosseir: but only, having the firman of the Grand Signior, and letters from the Bey and Port of janizaries of Cairo, they presumed I had a right to lodge there, if he had not taken up the quarters.

It happened, that an intimate friend of mine, Mahomet Topal, captain of one of the large Cairo ships, trading to Arabia, was a companion of this Hussein Bey, and had carried him to see Captain Thornhill, and some of our English captains at Jidda, who, as their very laudable custom is, always shew such people some civilities. He questioned the janizary about me, who told him I was English; that I had the protection I had mentioned, and that, from kindness and charity, I had furnished the stranger Turks with water, and provision at my own expence, when crossing the desert. He professed himself exceedingly ashamed at the behaviour of his servants, who had drawn their sabres upon mine, and had cut my carpet and some cords. After which, of his own accord, he ordered his Kaya, or next in command, to remove from the lodging he occupied, and instead of sending back my baggage by my servant, he directed it to be carried into the apartment from which the Kaya had removed. This I absolutely refused, and sent word, I understood he was to be there for a few

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days only; and as I might stay for a longer time, I should only desire to succeed him after his departure, in order to put my baggage in safety from the Arabs; but for the present they were in no danger, as long as he was in the town. I told him, I would pay my respects to him in the evening, when the weather cooled. I did so, and contrary to his expectations, brought him a small present. Great intercourse of civility passed; my fellow-travellers, the Turks, were all seated there, and he gave me repeatedly very honourable testimonials of my charity, generosity, and kindness to them.

These Turks, finding themselves in a situation to be heard, had not omitted the opportunity of complaining to Hussein Bey of the attempt of the Arab to rob them in the desert. The Bey asked me, if it happened in my tent? I said it was in that of my servants. "What is the reason," says he, "that, when you English people know so well what good government is, you did not order his head to be struck off, when you had him in your hands, before the door of the tent?"—"Sir," said I, "I know well what good government is; but being a stranger, and a Christian, I have no sort of title to exercise the power of life and death in this country; only in this one case, when a man attempts my life, then I think I am warranted to defend myself, whatever may be the consequence to him. My men took him in the fact, and they had my orders, in such cases, to beat the offenders so that they should not steal these two months again: They did so; that was punishment enough in cold blood."—"But my blood," says he, "never cools with regard to such rascals as these: Go (and he called one of his attendants) tell Hassan, the head of the caravan, from me,

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that unless he hangs that Arab before sun-rise to-morrow, I will carry him in irons to Furshout."

Upon this message, I took my leave; saying only, "Hussein Bey, take my advice; procure a vessel and send these Turks over to Mecca before you leave this town, or, be assured they will be made responsible for the death of this Arab; will be all stripped naked, and perhaps murdered, as soon as your back is turned." It was all I could do to get them protected thus far. This measure was already provided for, and the poor Turks joyfully embarked next morning. The thief was not at all molested: he was sent out of the way, under pretence that he had fled.

Cosseir has been mistaken by different authors. M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, says, it is the Myos Hormos of antiquity; others, the Philoteras Portus of Ptolemy. The fact is, that neither one nor other is the port, both being considerably farther to the northward. Nay, more, the present town of Cosseir was no ancient port at all; old Cosseir was five or six miles to the northward. There can be no sort of doubt, that it was the Portus Albus, or the White Harbour; for we find the steep descent from Terfowey, and the marble mountains, called, to this day, the Accaba, which, in Arabic, signifies a steep ascent, or descent, is placed here by Ptolemy with the same name, though in Greek that name has no signification. Again, Ptolemy places Aias Mons *, or the mountain Aias, just over Cosseir, and this mountain, by the same name, is found there at this day. And, upon this mountain, and the one next it, (both over the port) are two very remarkable chalky cliffs; which, being conspicuous and seen far at sea, have given the name of the White Port, which Cosseir bore in all antiquity.

* Ptolem. Geograph. lib. 4. p. 103.

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I found, by many meridian altitudes of the sun, taken at the castle, that Cosseir is in lat. 29° 7′ 51″ north; and, by three observations of Jupiter's satellites, I found its longitude to be 34° 4′ 15″ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The caravan from Syene arrived at this time, escorted by four hundred Ababdé, all upon camels, each armed with two short javelins. The manner of their riding was very whimsical; they had two small saddles on each camel, and sat back to back, which might be, in their practice, convenient enough; but I am sure, that, if they had been to fight with us, every ball would have killed two of them; what their advantage would have been, I know not.

The whole town was in terror at the influx of so many barbarians, who know no law whatever but their own wills. They brought a thousand camels loaded with wheat, which they were to transport to Mecca. Every body shut their doors, and I among the rest, whilst the Bey sent word to me to remove into the castle. But I had no fear, and resolved to make an experiment, after hearing these were people of Nimmer, whether I could trust them in the desert or not. However, I sent all my instruments, my money, and the best of my baggage, my medicines and memorandums, into a chamber in the castle: after the door was locked, and the key brought to me, the Bey ordered pieces of wood to be nailed across it, and set one centinel to watch it all day, and two in the night.

I was next morning down at the port looking for shells in the sea, when a servant of mine came to me in apparent fright and hurry. He told me the Ababdé had found out that Abd-el-gin, my Arab, was an Atouni, their enemy, and that they had either cut his throat, or were about to do it; but, by the fury

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with which they seized him, in his sight, he could not believe they would spare him a minute.

He very providently brought me a horse, upon which I mounted immediately, seeing there was no time to be lost; and in the fishing-dress, in which I was, with a red turban about my head, I galloped as hard as the horse could carry me through the town. If I was alarmed myself, I did not fail to alarm many others. They all thought it was something behind, not any thing before me, that occasioned this speed. I only told my servant at passing, to send two of my people on horseback after me, and that the Bey would lend them horses.

I had not got above a mile into the sands, when I began to reflect on the folly of the undertaking. I was going into the desert among a band of savages, whose only trade was robbery and murder, where, in all probability, I should be as ill treated as the man I was attempting to save. But, seeing a crowd of people about half a mile before me, and thinking they might be at that time murdering that poor, honest, and simple fellow, all consideration of my own safety for the time vanished.

Upon my coming near them, six or eight of them surrounded me on horseback, and began to gabble in their own language. I was not very fond of my situation. It would have cost them nothing to have thrust a lance through my back, and taken the horse away; and, after stripping me, to have buried me in a hillock of sand, if they were so kind as give themselves that last trouble. However, I picked up courage, and putting on the best appearance I could, said to them steadily, without trepidation, "What men are these before?" The answer, after some pause, was, "They are men;" and they looked very queerly, as if they meant to ask each other, "What sort of

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spark is this?" "Are those before us, Ababdé," said I; "are they from Shekh Ammer?" One of them nodded, and grunted sullenly, rather than said, "Aye, Ababdé from Shekh Ammer." "Then Salam Alicum!" said I, "we are brethren. How does the Nimmer? Who commands you here? Where is Ibrahim?"

At the mention of Nimmer, and Ibrahim, their countenance changed, not to any thing sweeter, or gentler, than before, but to a look of great surprise. They had not returned my salutation, "Peace be between us;" but one of them asked me who I was? "Tell me first," said I, "who is that you have before?" "It is an Arab, our enemy," says he, "guilty of our blood." "It is not so," replied I; "he is my servant, a Howadat Arab; his tribe lives in peace at the gates of Cairo, in the same manner your's at Shekh Ammer does at those of Assouan. I ask you where is Ibrahim, your Shekh's son?" "Ibrahim," says he, "is at our head, he commands us here. But who are you?" "Come with me, and shew me Ibrahim," said I, "and I will shew you who I am."

I passed by these, and by another party of them. They had thrown a hair rope about the neck of Abd-el-gin, who was almost strangled already, and cried out most miserably to me not to leave him. I went directly to the black tent which I saw had a long spear thrust up in the end of it, and met at the door Ibrahim and his brother, and seven or eight Ababdé. He did not recollect me, but I dismounted close to the tent-door, and had scarce taken hold of the pillar of the tent, and said "Fiarduc*," when Ibrahim and his

* That is, I am under your protection; literally, "in thy land."

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brother both knew me. "What!" said they, "are you Yagoube, our physician, and our friend?" "Let me ask you," replied I, "if you are the Ababdé of Shekh Ammer, that cursed yourselves, and your children, if you ever lifted a hand against me, or mine, in the desert, or in the plowed field: If you have repented of that oath, or sworn falsely on purpose to deceive me, here I am come to you in the desert." "What is the matter?" says Ibrahim; "we are the Ababdé of Shekh Ammer, there are no other, and we still say, "Cursed be he, whether our father, or child, that lifts his hand against you in the desert, or in the plowed field." "Then," said I, "you are all accursed in the desert, and in the field, for a number of your people are going to murder my servant. They took him, indeed, from my house in the town; perhaps that is not included in your curse, as it is neither in the desert, nor the plowed field." I was very angry. "Whew!" says Ibrahim, with a kind of whistle, "that is downright nonsense. Who are those of my people that have authority to murder, and take prisoners while I am here? Here, one of you, get upon Yagoube's horse, and bring that man to me." Then, turning to me, he desired I would go into the tent and sit down: "For God renounce me and mine," says he, "if it is as you say, and one of them hath touched the hair of his head, if ever he drinks of the Nile again."

A number of people, who had seen me at Shekh Ammer, now came all around me; some with complaints of sickness, some with compliments; more with impertinent questions, that had no relation to either. At last came in the culprit Abd-el-gin, with forty or fifty of the Ababdé, who had gathered round him, but no rope about his neck. There began a violent altercation between Ibrahim, and his men, in

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their own language. All that I could guess was, that the men had the worst of it; for every one present said something harsh to them, holding up their hands, as disapproving the action.

I heard the name of Hassan Sidi Hassan often in the dispute. I began to suspect something; and desired, in Arabic, to know what that Sidi Hassan was, so often mentioned in the discourse; and then the whole secret came out.

The reader will remember, that this Arab, Abd-el-gin, was the person that seized the servant of Hassan, the captain of the caravan, when he was attempting to steal the Turk's portmanteau out of my tent; that my people had beat him till he lay upon the ground like dead, and that Hussein Bey, at the complaint of the Caramaniots, had, for this offence, ordered him to be hanged. Now, in order to revenge this, Hassan had told the Ababdé that Abd-el-gin was an Atouni spy, that he had detected him in the caravan, and that he was come to learn the number of the Ababdé, in order to bring his companions to surprise them. He did not say one word that he was my servant, nor that I was at Cosseir; so the people thought they had a very meritorious sacrifice to make, in the person of poor Abd-el-gin.

All passed now in kindness, and desire of reparation; fresh medicines were asked for the Nimmer; great thankfulness, and professions, for what they had received; and a prodigious quantity of meat on wooden platters very excellently dressed, and most agreeably diluted with fresh water, from the coldest rocks of Terfowey, was set before me.

In the mean time, two of my servants, attended by three of Hussein Bey, came in great anxiety to know what was the matter; and, as neither they nor the Arabs chose each others company, I sent them with

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a short account of the whole to the Bey; and soon after took my leave, carrying Abd-el-gin along with me, who had been clothed by Ibrahim from head to foot. We were accompanied by two Ababdé, in case of accident.

I cannot help here accusing myself of what, doubtless, may be well reputed a very great sin, the more so that I cannot say I have yet heartily repented of it. I was so enraged at the traitorous part which Hassan had acted, that at parting, I could not help saying to Ibrahim, "Now Shekh, I have done every thing you have desired, without ever expecting fee, or reward; the only thing I now ask you, and it is probably the last, is, that you revenge me upon this Hassan, who is every day in your power." Upon this, he gave me his hand, saying, "He should not die in his bed, or I shall never see old age."

We now returned all in great spirits to Cosseir, and I observed that my unexpected connection with the Ababdé had given me an influence in that place, that put me above all fear of personal danger, especially as they had seen in the desert, that the Atouni were my friends also, as reclaiming this Arab shewed they really were.

The Bey insisted on my supping with him. At his desire I told him the whole story, at which he seemed to be much surprised, saying, several times, "Menullah! Menullah! Mucktoub! It is God's doing, it is God's doing; it was written so." And, when I had finished, he said to me, "I will not leave this traitor to trouble you further; I will oblige him, as it is his duty, to attend me to Furshout." This he accordingly did; and, to my very great surprise, though he might be assured I had complained of him to Shekh Hamam, meeting me the next day, when they were all ready to depart, and were drinking coffee with the

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Bey, Hassan gave me a slip of paper, and desired me, by that direction, to buy him a sabre, which might be procured in Mecca. It seems it is the manufacture of Persia, and, though I do not understand in the least the import of the terms, I give it to the reader, that he may know by what description he is to buy an excellent sabre. It is called Suggaro Tabanne Haresanne Agemmi, for Sidi Hassan of Furshout*.

Although pretty much used to stifle my resentment upon impertinences of this kind, I could not, after the trick he had played me with the Ababd , carry this indifferently; I threw the billet before the Bey, saying to Hassan, "A sword of that value would be useless and misemployed in the hand of a coward and a traitor, such as surely you must be sensible I know you to be." He looked to the Bey as if appealing to him, from the incivility of the observation; but the Bey, without scruple, answered, "It is true, it is true what he says, Hassan; if I was in Ali Bey's place, when you dared use a stranger of mine, or any stranger, as you have done him, I would plant you upon a sharp stake in the market-place, till the boys in the town stoned you to death; but he has complained of you in a letter, and I will be a witness against you before Hamam; for your conduct is not that of a Mussulman."

While I was engaged with the Ababdé, a vessel was seen in distress in the offing, and all the boats went out and towed her in It was the vessel in which the twenty-five Turks had embarked, which had been heavily loaded. Nothing is so dreadful as the embarkation in that sea; for the boats have no decks; the

* From the Pocket-book on Egypt.—E.

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whole, from stem to stern, being filled choke-full of wheat, the waste, that is the slope of the vessel, between the height of her stem and stern, is filled up by one plank on each side, which is all that is above the surface of the waves. Sacks, tarpaulins, or mats, are strowed along the surface of the wheat upon which all the passengers lie. On the least agitation of the waves, the sea getting in upon the wheat, increases its weight so prodigiously, that, falling below the level of the gunnel the water rushes in between the plank and that part of the vessel, and down it goes to the bottom.

Though every day produces an accident of this kind from the same cause, yet such is the desire of gaining money in that season, which offers but once a-year, that every ship sails, loaded in the same manner as the last which perished. This was just the case with the vessel that carried the Turks. Anxious to go away, they would not wait the signs of the weather's being rightly settled. "Ullah Kerim!"— they cry, "God is great and merciful; and upon that they embark in a navigation, where it needs, indeed, a miracle to save them.

The Turks all came ashore but one; the youngest, and, according to all appearance, the best, had fallen overboard, and perished. The Bey received them, and with great charity entertained them all at his own expence, but they were so terified with the sea, as almost to resolve never to make another attempt.

The Bey had brought with him from Jidda, a small, but tight, vessel, belonging to Sheher*; which came from that country loaded with frankincense, the commodity of that port. The Rais had business down the Gulf at Tor, and he had spoken to the

* On the east coast of Arabia Felix, Syagrum Promontorium.

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Bey, to recommend him to me. I had no business at Tor, but as we had grown into a kind of friendship, from frequent conversation, and as he was, according to his own word, a great saint, like my last boatman, a character, that, I thought, I could perfectly manage, I proposed to the Bey, that he and I should contribute something to make it worth this captain's pains, to take our friends, the Turks, on board, and carry them to Yambo, that they might not be deprived of that blessing which would result from their visit to the Prophet's tomb, and which they had toiled so much to earn. I promised, in that case, to hire his vessel at so much a month, upon its return from Yambo; and, as I had then formed a resolution of making a survey of the Red Sea to the Straits of Babelmandel, the Rais was to take his directions from me, till I pleased to dismiss him.

Nothing was more agreeable to the views of all parties than this. The Bey promised to stay till they sailed, and I engaged to take the vessel after it returned; and, as the captain, in quality of a saint, assured us, that any rock that stood in our way in the voyage, would either jump aside, or become soft like a sponge, as it had often happened before, both the Turks and we were now assured of a voyage without danger.

All was settled to our mutual satisfaction, when, unluckily, the Turks going down to their boat, met Sidi Hassan, whom, with reason, they thought the author of all their misfortunes. The whole party drew their swords, and, without seeking sabres from Persia, as he had done, they would have cut Sidi Hassan in pieces, but, fortunately for him, the Turks had great cloth trowsers, like Dutchmen, and could not run, whilst he ran very nim-

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bly in his. Several pistols, however, were fired, one of which shot him in the back part of the ear; on which he fled for refuge to the Bey, and we never saw him more.

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CHAP. XI.

Voyage to Jibbel Zumrud—Return to Cosseir—Sail from Cosseir—Jaffateen Islands—Arrive at Tor.

THE Turks and the Bey departed, and with the Turks I dispatched my Arab, Abd-el-gin, not only giving him something myself, but recommending him to my beneficent countrymen at Jidda, if he should go there.

I now took up my quarters in the castle, and as the Ababdé had told strange stories about the Mountain of Emeralds, I determined, till my captain should return, to make a voyage thither. There was no possibility of knowing the distance by report; sometimes, it was twenty-five miles, sometimes it was fifty, sometimes it was a hundred, and God knows how many more.

I chose a man who had been twice at these mountains of emeralds; with the best boat then in the harbour, and on Tuesday the 14th March, we sailed, with the wind at north-east, from the harbour of Cosseir, about an hour before the dawn of day. We kept coasting along, with a very moderate wind, much diverted with the red and green appearances of the marble mountains upon the coast. Our vessel had one sail, like a straw mattress, made of the leaves of a kind of palm tree, which they call Doom. It was fixed above, and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a sail; so that, upon stress of weather, if the sail was furled, it was so top-heavy,

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that the ship must founder, or the mast be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the vessel were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole ship; so that, when you struck upon a rock, seldom any damage ensued. For my own part, from an absolute detestation of her whole construction, I insisted upon keeping close along-shore, at an easy sail.

The continent, to the leeward of us, belonged to our friends the Ababdé. There was great plenty of shell-fish to be picked up on every shoal. I had loaded the vessel with four skins of fresh water, equal to four hogsheads, with cords, and buoys fixed to the end of each of them, so that, if we had been shipwrecked near land, as rubbing two sticks together made us fire, I was not afraid of receiving succour, before we should be driven to our last extremity, provided we did not perish in the sea, of which I was not very apprehensive.

On the 15th, about nine o'clock, I saw a large high rock, like a pillar, rising out of the sea. At first, I took it for a part of the Continent: but, as we advanced nearer it, the sun being very clear, and the sea calm, I took an observation, and, as our situation was lat. 25° 6′, and the island about a league distant, to the S. S. W. of us, I concluded its latitude to be pretty exactly 25° 3′ north. This island is about three miles from the shore, of an oval form, rising in the middle. It seems to me to be of granite; and is called, in the language of the country, Jibbel Siberget, which has been translated the Mountain of Emeralds. Siberget, however, is a word in the language of the Shepherds, who, I doubt, never in their lives saw an emerald; and though the Arabic translation is Jibbel Zumrud, and that word has been transferred to the emerald, a very fine stone, oftener seen since the discovery of the new world, yet I very much doubt,

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that either Siberget, or Zumrud, ever meant emerald in old times. My reason is this; that we found, both here and in the continent, splinters, and pieces of green pellucid crystalline substance; yet, though green, they were veiny, clouded, and not at all so hard as rock-crystal; a mineral production certainly, but a little harder than glass; and this, I apprehend, was what the Shepherds, or people of Beja, called Siberget, the Latins Smaragdus, and the Moors Zumrud *.

The 16th, at day-break in the morning, I took the Arab of Cosseir with me, who knew the place. We landed on a point perfectly desert; at first, sandy, like Cosseir, afterwards, where the soil was fixed, producing some few plants of rue or absinthium. We advanced above three miles farther in a perfectly desert country, with only a few acacia-trees scattered here and there, and came to the foot of the mountains. I asked my guide the name of that place; he said it was Saiel. They are never at a loss for a name, and those who do not understand the language, always believe them. This would have been the case in the present conjuncture. He knew not the name of the place, and, perhaps, it had no name, but he called it Saiel, which signifies a male acacia-tree, merely because he saw an acacia growing there; and, with equal reason, he might have called every mile Saiel, from the Gulf of Suez to the line.

We see this abuse in the old Itineraries, especially in the Antonine †, from such a town to such a town, so many miles; and what is the next station? (*el segge-*

* This is not accurate; the smaragdus, a *very hard* grass-green stone, was well known to the Arabs, Egyptians, and other orientals. Vid. Plinii, Hist. Nat. de Smaragd. Lib. 37. p. 650.—E.

† Itin. Anton, a Carth. p. 4.

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ra) ten miles. This el seggera *, the Latin readers take to be the name of a town, as Harduin, and all commentators on the classics, have done. But, so far from Seggera signifying a town, it imports just the contrary, that there is no town there, but the traveller must be obliged to take up his quarters under a tree that night, for such is the meaning of Seggera as a station, and so likewise of Saiel.

At the foot of the mountain, or about seven yards up from the base of it, are five pits, or shafts, none of them four feet in diameter, called the Zumrud Wells, from which the ancients are said to have drawn the emeralds. We were not provided with materials, and little endowed with inclination, to descend into any one of them, where the air was probably bad. I picked up the nozzels, and some fragments of lamps, like those of which we find millions in Italy: and some worn fragments, but very small ones, of that brittle green crystal, which is the siberget and bilur of Ethiopia, perhaps the zumrud, the smaragdus described by Pliny, but by no means the emerald, known since the discovery of the new world, whose first character absolutely defeats its pretensions, the true Peruvian emerald being equal in hardness to the ruby.

Pliny † reckons up twelve kind of emeralds, and names them all by the country where they are found. Many have thought the smaragdus to be but a finer kind of jasper. Pomet assures us it is a mineral,

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* So the next stage from Syené is called Hiera Sycaminos, a sycamore-tree, Ptol. lib. 4. p. 108.

† Plin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 5. Mr Bruce forgets that Pliny says "Quanquam Sythicorum Aegyptiorumque duritia tanta est ut nequeant vulnerari."—E.

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formed in iron, and says he had one to which iron-ore was sticking. If this was the case, the finest emeralds should not come from Peru, where, as far as ever has been yet discovered, there is no iron.

With regard to the Oriental emeralds, which they say come from the East Indies, they are now sufficiently known, and the value of each stone pretty well ascertained; but all our industry and avarice have not yet discovered a mine of emeralds there, as far as I have heard. That there were emeralds in the East Indies, upon the first discovery of it from the Cape, there is no sort of doubt; that there came emeralds from that quarter in the time of the Romans, seems to admit of as little; but few antique emeralds have ever been seen; and so greatly in esteem and rare were they in those times, that it was made a crime for any artist to engrave upon an emerald *.

It is very natural to suppose, that some people of the East had a communication and trade with the new world, before we attempted to share it with them; and that the emeralds, they had brought from that quarter, were those which came afterwards into Europe, and were called the Oriental, till they were confounded with the † Peruvian, by the quantity of that kind brought into the East Indies, by the Jews and Moors, after the discovery of the new Continent.

But what invincibly proves, that the ancients and we are not agreed as to the same stone, is, that ‡ Theophrastus says that in the Egyptain commentaries he saw mention made of an emerald four cubits (six feet long,) which was sent as a present to one of their

* Plin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 5. † Tavernier, vol. ii. Voyag.
‡ Theophrastus Περι λιθων.

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kings; and in one of the temples of Jupiter in Egypt he saw an obelisk 90 feet high, made of four emeralds: and Roderick of Toledo informs us, that, when the Saracens took that city, Tarik, their chief, had a table of an emerald 365 cubits, or 547½ feet long. The Moorish histories of the invasion of Spain are full of such emeralds.

Having satisfied my curiosity as to those mountains, without having seen a living creature, I returned to my boat, where I found all well, and an excellent dinner of fish prepared. These were of three kinds, called Bisser, Surrumbac, and Nhoude el Benaat. The first of these seems to be of the oyster-kind, but the shells are both equally curved and hollow, and open with a hinge on the side, like a mussel. It has a large beard, like an oyster, which is not eatable, and which should be stript off. We found some of these two feet long, but the largest I believe ever seen composes the baptismal font in the church of Notre Dame in Paris *. The second is the Concha Veneris, with large projecting points like fingers. The third, called the Breasts of the Virgin, is a beautiful shell, perfectly pyramidal, generally about four inches in height, and beautifully variegated with mother-of-pearl, and green. All these fishes have a peppery taste; but are not therefore reckoned the less wholesome, and they are so much the more convenient, that they carry that ingredient of spice along with them for sauce, with which travellers, like me, very seldom burden themselves.

Besides a number of very fine shells, we picked up several branches of coral, coralines, yusser †, and many

* Clamps.

† It is a Keratophyte, growing at the bottom of the sea.

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other articles of natural history. We were abundantly provided with every thing; the weather was fair; and we never doubted it was to continue, so we were in great spirits, and only regretted that we had not, once for all, taken leave of Cosseir, and stood over for Jidda.

In this disposition we sailed about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the wind flattered us so much, that next day, the 17th, about eleven o'clock, we found ourselves about two leagues a-stern of a small island, known to the pilot by the name of Jibbel Macouar. This island is at least four miles from the shore, and in a high land, so that it may be seen, I suppose, eight leagues at sea, but is generally confounded with the Continent. I computed myself to be about 4′ of the meridian distant when I made the observation, and take its latitude to be about 24° 2′ on the centre of the island.

The land here, after running from Jibbel Siberget to Macouar, in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. turns round in the shape of a large promontory, and changes its direction to N. E. and S. W. and ends in a small bay or inlet; so that, by fanciful people, it has been thought to resemble the nose of a man, and is called by the Arabs, Ras el Anf, the Cape of the Nose. The mountains, within land, are of a dusky burnt colour; broken into points, as if intersected by torrents.

The coasting vessels from Masuah and Suakem which are bound to Jidda, in the strength of the summer monsoon, stand close in shore down the coast of Abyssinia, where they find a gentle steady east wind blowing all night, and a west wind very often during the day, if they are near enough the shore, for which purpose their vessels are built.

Besides this, the violent North-East monsoon rak-

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ing in the direction of the Gulf, blows the water out of the Straits of Babelmandel into the Indian Ocean, where, being accumulated, it presses itself backwards; and unable to find way in the middle of the channel, creeps up among the shallows on each coast of the Red Sea. However long the voyage from Masuah to Jibbel Macouar may seem, yet these gentle winds and favourable currents, if I may so call those in the sea, soon ran us down the length of that mountain.

A large vessel, however, does not dare to try this, whilst constantly among shoals, and close on a lee-shore; but those sewed together, and yielding without damage to the stress, slide over the banks of white coral, and even sometimes the rocks. Arrived at this island, they set their prow towards the opposite shore, and cross the channel in one night, to the coast of Arabia, being nearly before the wind. The track of this extraordinary navigation is marked upon * the map, and it is so well verified, that no shipmaster need doubt it.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, with a favourable wind and fine weather, we continued along the coast, with an easy sail. We saw no appearance of any inhabitants; the mountains were broken and pointed, as before, taking the direction of the coast; advancing and receding as the shore itself did. This coast is a very bold one, nor was there in any of the islands we had seen, shoals or anchoring places, unless upon the rock itself; so that, when we landed, we could run our boltsprit home over the land.

This island, Jibbel Macouar, has breakers run-

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* Vide the track of this navigation laid down on the Chart.

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ning off from it at all points; but, though we hauled close to these, we had no soundings. We then went betwixt it and the small island, that lies S. S. E. from it about three miles, and tried for soundings to the leeward, but we had none, although almost touching the land. About sun-set, I saw a small sandy island, which we left about a league to the westward of us. It had no shrubs, nor trees, nor height, that could distinguish it. My design was to push on to the river Frat, which is represented in the charts as very large and deep, coming from the Continent; though, considering by its latitude that it is above the tropical rains (for it is laid down about lat. 21° 25′), I never did believe that any such river existed.

In fact, we know no river, north of the sources of the Nile, that does not fall into the Nile. Nay, I may say, that not one river, in all Abyssinia, empties itself into the Red Sea. The tropical rains are bounded, and finish, in lat 16°, and there is no river, from the mountains, that falls into the desert of Nubia; nor do we know of any river which is tributary to the Nile, but what has its rise under the tropical rains. It would be a very singular circumstance, then, that the Frat should rise in one of the driest places in the globe; that it should be a river at least equal to the Nile; and should maintain itself full in all seasons, which the Nile does not; last of all, in a country where water is so scarce and precious, that it should not have a town or settlement upon it, either ancient or modern, nor that it should be resorted to by any encampment of Arabs, who might cross over and traffic with Jidda, which place is immediately opposite.

On the 18th, at day-break, I was alarmed at seeing no land, as I had no sort of confidence in the skill of my pilot, however sure I was of my latitude. A

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bout an hour after sun-set, I observed a high rugged rock, which the pilot told me, upon inquiry, was Jibbel (viz. a Rock), and this was all the satisfaction I could get. We bore down upon it with a wind, scanty enough; and, about four, we came to an anchor. As we had no name for that island, and I did not know that any traveller had been there before me, I used the privilege of giving it my own, in memory of having been there. The south of this island seems to be high and rocky; the north is low and ends in a tail, or sloping bank, but is exceedingly steep too, and at the length of your bark any way from it, you have no soundings.

All this morning since before day, our pilot had begged us to go no farther. He said the wind had changed; and by infallible signs he had seen to the southward, he was confident (without any chance of being mistaken) that in twenty-four hours we should have a storm, which would put us in danger of shipwreck; that Frat, which I wanted to see, was immediately opposite to Jidda, so that either a country, or English boat would run me over in a night and a day, when I might procure people with connections in the country, so as to be under no apprehension of any accident: but that, in the present track I was going, every man that I should meet was an enemy. Although not very susceptible of fear, my ears were never shut against reason; and to what the pilot stated, I added in my own breast, that we might be blown out to sea, and want both water and provision. We, therefore, dined as quickly as possible, and encouraged one another all we could. A little after six the wind came easterly, and changeable, with a thick haze over the land. This cleared about nine in the evening, and one of the finest and steadiest gales that ever blew, carried us swiftly on, directly for Cosseir. The sky was full of dappled clouds, so that, though

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I, several times, tried to catch a star in the meridian, I was always frustrated. The wind became fresher, but still very fair.

The 19th, at day-break, we saw the land stretching all the way northward, and, soon after, distinctly discerned Jibbel Siberget upon our lee-bow. We had seen it indeed before, but had taken it for the mainland.

After passing such an agreeable night, we could not be quiet, and laughed at our pilot about his perfect knowledge of the weather. The fellow shook his head, and said, he had been mistaken before now, and was always glad when it happened so; but still we were not arrived at Cosseir, though he hoped and believed we should get there in safety. In a very little time, the vane on the mast-head began to turn, first north, then east, then south, and back again to all the points in the compass. The sky was quite dark with thick rain to the southward of us; then followed a most violent clap of thunder, but no lightning; and back again came the wind fair at south-east. We all looked rather downcast at each other, and a general silence followed. This, however, I saw, availed us nothing; we were in a scrape, and were to endeavour to get out of it the best way we could. The vessel went at a prodigious rate. The sail, that was made of mat, happened to be new, and filled with a strong wind, weighed prodigiously. What made this worse was, the masts were placed a little forward. The first thing I asked was, if the pilot could not lower his main-sail? But that we found impossible, the yard being fixed to the mast-head. The next step was to reef it, by hauling it, in part, up like a curtain: This our pilot desired us not to attempt; for it would endanger our foundering. Notwithstanding which, I desired my servant to help me with the

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haul-yards; and to hold them in his hand, only giving them a turn round the bench. This increasing the vessel's weight above and before, as she already had too much pressure, made her give two pitches, the one after the other, so that I thought she was buried under the waves, and a considerable deal of water came in upon us. I am fully satisfied, had she not been in good order, very buoyant, and in her trim, she would have gone to the bottom, as the wind continued to blow a hurricane.

I began now to throw off my upper coat and trowsers, that I might endeavour to make shore, if the vessel should founder, whilst the servants seemed to have given themselves up, and made no preparation. The pilot kept in close by the land, to see if no bight, or inlet, offered to bring up in; but we were going with such violence, that I was satisfied we should overset if we attempted this. Every ten minutes we ran over the white coral banks, which we broke in pieces with a noise similar to the grating of a file upon iron, and, what was the most terrible of all, a large wave followed, higher than our stern, curling over it, and seemed to be the instrument destined by Providence to bury us in the abyss.

Our pilot began, apparently, to lose his understanding through fright. I begged him to be steady, persuading him to take a glass of spirits, and desired him not to dispute or doubt any thing that I should do or order, for that I had seen much more terrible nights in the ocean. I assured him, that all harm done to his vessel should be repaired when we should get to Cosseir, or even a new one bought for him, if his own was much damaged. He answered me nothing, but that Mahomet was the prophet of God. "Let him prophecy," said I, "as long as he pleases; but what I order you is, to keep steady to the helm; mind the vane on

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the top of the mast, and steer straight before the wind, for I am resolved to cut that main-sail to pieces, and prevent the mast from going away, and your vessel from sinking to the bottom." I got no answer to this which I could hear, the wind was so high, except something about the mercy and the merit of Sidi Ali el Genowi. I now became violently angry. "D—n Sidi Ali el Genowi," said I, "you beast, cannot you give me a rational answer? Stand to your helm, look at the vane; keep the vessel straight before the wind, or, by the great G—d who sits in heaven," another kind of oath than by Sidi Ali el Genowi, "I will shoot you dead the first yaw the ship gives, or the first time that you leave the steerage where you are standing." He answered only, Maloom, *i. e.* very well. All this was sooner done than said; I got the mainsail in my arms, and, with a large knife, cut it all to shreds; which eased the vessel greatly, though we we were still going at a prodigious rate.

About two o'clock the wind seemed to fail, but, half an hour after, was more violent than ever. At three it fell calm. I then encouraged my pilot, who had been very attentive, and, I believe, had got pretty well through the whole list of saints in his calendar, and assured him, that he should receive ample reparation for the loss of his main-sail. We now saw distinctly the white cliffs of the two mountains above Old Cosseir; and, on the 19th, a little before sun-set, we arrived safely at the New.

We afterwards heard how much more fortunate we had been than some of our fellow-sailors that same night. Three of the vessels belonging to Cosseir, loaded with wheat for Yambo, perished, with all on board of them, in the gale; among these was the vessel that first had the Turks on board. This account was brought by Sidi Ali el Meymoum el

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Shehrie, which signifies ' Ali, the ape or monkey, from Sheher.' For though he was a saint, yet, being in figure liker to a monkey, they thought it proper to distinguish him by that to which he bore the greatest resemblance.

We were all heartily sick of Cosseir embarkations; but the vessel of Sidi Ali el Meymoum, though small, was tight and well rigged; had sails of canvas, and had navigated in the Indian Ocean; the Rais had four stout men on board, apparently good sailors; he himself, though near sixty, was a very active, vigorous little man, and to the full as good a sailor as he was a saint. It was on the 5th of April, after having made my last observation of longitude at Cosseir, that I embarked on board this vessel, and sailed from that port. It was necessary to conceal, from some of my servants, our intention of proceeding to the bottom of the gulf, lest, finding themselves amongst Christians so near Cairo, they might desert a voyage of which they were sick, before it was well begun.

For the first two days we had hazy weather, with little wind. In the evening, the wind fell calm. We saw a high land to the south-west of us, very rugged and broken, which seemed parallel to the coast, and higher in the middle than at either end. This, we conceived, was the mountain that divides the coast of the Red Sea from the eastern part of the valley of Egypt, corresponding to Monfalout and Siout. We brought to, in the night, behind a small low cape, though the wind was fair, our Rais being afraid of the Jaffateen islands, which, we knew, were not far a-head.

We caught a great quantity of fine fish this night with a line; some of them weighing 14 pounds. The best were blue in the back, like a salmon, but their belly red, and marked with blue round spots. They resembled a salmon in shape, but the fish was white, and not so firm.

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In the morning of the 6th we made the Jaffateen Islands. They are four in number, joined by shoals and sunken rocks. They are crooked, or bent, like half a bow, and are dangerous for ships sailing in the night, because there seems to be a passage between them, to which, when pilots are attending, they neglect two small dangerous sunk rocks, that lie almost in the middle of the entrance, in deep water.

I understood afterwards, from the Rais, that, had it not been from some marks he saw of blowing weather, he would not have come in to the Jaffateen Islands, but stood directly for Tor, running between the island Sheduan, and a rock which is in the middle of the channel, after you pass Ras Mahomet. But we lay so perfectly quiet the whole night, that we could not but be grateful to the Rais for his care, although we had seen no apparent reason for it.

Next morning, the 7th, we left our very quiet birth in the bay, and stood close, nearly south-east, along side of the two southermost Jaffateen Islands, our head upon the centre of Sheduan, till we had cleared the eastermost of these islands about three miles. We then passed Sheduan, leaving it to the eastward about three leagues, and keeping nearly a N. N. W. course, to range the west side of Jibbel Zeit. This is a large desert island, or rock, that is about four miles from the main.

The passage between them is practicable by small craft only, whose planks are sewed together, and are not affected by a stroke upon hard ground; for it is not for want of water that this navigation is dangerous. All the west coast is very bold, and has more depth of water than the east; but on this side there is no anchoring ground, nor shoals. It is a rocky shore, and there is depth of water everywhere; yet that part is full of sunken rocks, which, though not

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visible, are near enough the surface to take up a large ship, whose destruction thereupon becomes inevitable. This, I presume, arises from one cause. The mountains, on the side of Egypt and Abyssinia, are all (as we have stated) hard stone, porphyry, granite, alabaster, basaltes, and many sorts of marble. These are all therefore fixed, and even to the northward of lat. 16°, where there is no rain, very small quantities of dust or sand can ever be blown from them into the sea. On the opposite, or Arabian side, the sea coast of the Hejaz, and that of the Tehamah, are all moving sands; and the dry winter-monsoon from the south-east blows a large quantity from the deserts, which is lodged among rocks on the Arabian side of the gulf, and confined there by the north-east, or summer monsoon, which is in a contrary direction, and hinders them from coming over, or circulating towards the Egyptian side.

From this it happens, that the west, or Abyssinian side, is full of deep water, interspersed with sunken rocks, unmasked, or uncovered with sand, with which they would otherwise become islands. These are naked and bare all round, and sharp, like points of spears; while on the east side there are rocks, indeed, as in the other; but being between the south-east monsoon, which drives the sand into its coast, and the north-west monsoon, which repels it, and keeps it in there, every rock on the Arabian shore becomes an island, and every two or three islands become a harbour.

Upon the ends of the principal of these harbours, large heaps of stones have been piled up, to serve as signals, or marks, how to enter; and it is in these that the large vessels from Cairo to Jidda, equal in size to our 74 gun ships (but from the cisterns of mason-work built within for holding water, I suppose double their weight), after navigating their portion of

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the channel in the day, come safely and quietly to, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and in these little harbours pass the night, to sail into the channel again, next morning at sun-rise.

Therefore, though in the track of my voyage to Tor, I am seen running from the west side of Jibbel Zeit *, a W. N. W, course (for I had no place for a compass) into the harbour of Tor, I do not mean to do so bad a service to humanity, as to persuade large ships to follow my track. There are two ways of instructing men usefully, in things absolutely unknown to them. The first is, to teach them what they can do safely: the next is, to teach them what they cannot do at all, or, warranted by a pressing occasion, attempt with more or less danger, which should be explained and kept before their eyes; for without this last, no man knows the extent of his own powers. With this view, I will venture, without fear of contradiction, to say, that my course from Cosseir, or even from Jibbel Siberget, to Tor, is impossible to a great ship. My voyage, painful, full of care, and dangerous as it was, is not to be accounted a surety for the lives of thousands. It may be regarded as a foundation for surveys, hereafter to be made by persons more capable, and better protected; and in this case will, I hope, be found a valuable fragment; because, whatever have been my conscientious fears of running servants, who work for pay, into danger of losing their lives by peril of the sea, yet I can safely say, that never did the face of man, or fear of danger to myself, deter me from verifying with my eyes, what my own hands have put upon paper.

In the days of the Ptolemies, and, as I shall show, long before, the west coast of the Red Sea, where the

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* On the map, east side of Jibbel Zeit, course E. N. E.—E.

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deepest water, and most dangerous rocks are, was the track which the Indian and African ships chose, when loaded with the richest merchandise that ever vessels since carried. The Ptolemies built a number of large cities on this coast; nor do we hear that ships were obliged to abandon that track, from the disasters that befel them in the navigation. On the contrary, they avoided the coast of Arabia; and one reason, among others, is plain why they should; they were loaded with the most valuable commodities, gold, ivory, gums, and precious stones; room for stowage on board, therefore, was very valuable.

Part of this trade, when at its greatest perfection, was carried on in vessels with oars. We know from the prophet Ezekiel *, 700 years before Christ, or 300 after Solomon had managed his trade with Africa and India, that they did not always make use of sails in the track of the monsoons; and, consequently, a great number of men must have been necessary for so tedious a voyage. A number of men being necessary, a quantity of water was equally so; and this must have taken up a great deal of stowage. Now, no where on the coast of Abyssinia could they want water two days; and scarce any where, on the coast of Arabia, could they be sure of it once in fifteen; and from this the western coast was called *Ber el Ajam* †, corruptly Azamia, *the country of water*, in opposition to the eastern shore, called *Ber el Arab*, where there was none.

A deliberate survey became absolutely necessary, and as, in proportion to the danger of the coast, pilots become more skilful, when once they had obtained more complete knowledge of the rocks and dan-

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* Ezek. chap. xxvii. 6th and 29th verses.

† Ajan, in the language of the Shepherds, signifies *rain-water*.

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gers, they preferred the boldest shore, because they could stand on all night, and provide themselves with water every day. Whereas, on the Arabian side, they could not sail but half the day, would be obliged to lie-to all night, and to load themselves with water, equal to half their cargo.

I now shall undertake to point out to large ships, the way by which they can safely enter the Gulph of Suez, so as that they may be competent judges of their own course, in case of accident, without implicitly surrendering themselves, and property, into the hands of pilots.

In the first place, then, I am very confident, that, taking their departure from Jibbel el Ourée, ships may safely stand on all night mid-channel, until they are in the latitude of Yambo.

The Red Sea may be divided into four parts, of which the channel occupies two, till about lat. 26°, or nearly that of Cosseir. On the west side it is deep water, with many rocks, as I have already said. On the east side, that quarter is occupied by islands, that is, sand gathered about the rocks, the causes whereof I have before mentioned; between which there are channels of very deep water, and harbours, that protect the largest ships in any winds. But among these, from Mocha down to Suez, you must sail with a pilot, and during part of the day only.

To a person used to more civilized countries, it appears no great hardship to sail with a pilot, if you can get one, and in the Red Sea there are plenty; but these are creatures without any sort of science, who decide upon a manœuvre in a moment, without forethought, or any warning given. Such pilots often, in a large ship deeply loaded, with every sail out which she can carry, in a very instant cry out to let go your anchors, and bring you to, all standing, in the face of

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a rock, or sand. Were not our seamen's vigour, and celerity in execution, infinitely beyond the skill and foresight of those pilots, I believe very few ships, coming the inward passage among the islands, would ever reach the port in safety.

If you are, however, going to Suez, without the consent of the Sheriffe of Mecca, that is, not intending to sell your cargo at Jidda, or pay your custom there, then you should take in your water at Mocha; or, if any reason should hinder you from touching that shore, a few hours will carry you to Azab, or Saba, on the Abyssinian coast, whose latitude I found to be 13° 5′ north. It is not a port, but a very tolerable road, where you have very safe riding, under the shelter of a low desert island, called Crab Island, with a few rocks at the end of it. But, it must be remembered, the people are Galla, the most treacherous and villanous wretches upon earth. They are shepherds, who sometimes are on the coast in great numbers, or on the back of the hills that run close along the shore, or in miserable villages composed of huts, that run nearly in the east and west direction from Azab to Raheeda, the largest of all their villages. You will there, at Azab, get plenty of water, sheep, and goats, as also some myrrh and incense, if you are in the proper season, or will stay for it.

I again repeat it, that no confidence is to be had in the people. Those of Mocha, who even are absolutely necessary to them in their commercial transactions, cannot trust them without surety or hostages. And it was but a few years before I was there, the surgeon and mate of the Elgin East-Indiaman, with several other sailors, were cut off, going on shore with a letter of safe-conduct from their Shekh to purchase myrrh. Those that were in the boat escaped, but most of them were wounded. A ship, on its guard, does

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not fear banditti like these, and you will get plenty of water and provision; though I am only speaking of it as a station of necessity.

If you are not afraid of being known, there is a low black island on the Arabian coast, called Camaran, it is in lat. 15° 39′, and is distinguished by a white house, or fortress, on the west end of it, where you will procure excellent water, in greater plenty than at Azab; but no provisions, or only such as are very bad. If you should not wish to be seen, however, on the coast, at all, among the chain of islands that reaches almost across the Gulf from Loheia to Masuah, there is one, called Foosht, where there is good anchorage; it is laid down in my map in lat. 15° 59′ 43″ N. and long. 42° 27′ E. from actual observation taken upon the island. There is here a quantity of excellent water, with a saint, or monk, to take care of it, and keep the wells clean. This poor creature was so terrified at seeing us come ashore with fire arms, that he lay down upon his face on the sand; nor would he rise, nor lift up his head, till the Rais had explained to me the cause of his fear, and till, knowing I was not in any danger of surprise, I had sent my guns on board.

From this to Yambo there is no safe watering-place. Indeed, if the river Frat were to be found, there is no need of any watering-place in the Gulf; but it is absolutely necessary to have a pilot on board before you make Ras Mahomet; because, over the mountains of Auche, the Elanitic Gulf, and the Cape itself, there is often a great haze, which lasts for many days together, and many ships are constantly lost, by mistaking the eastern Bay, or Elanitic Gulf, for the entrance of the Gulf of Suez; the former has a reef of rocks nearly across it.

After you have made Sheduan, a large island three

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leagues farther, in a direction nearly north and by west, is a bare rock, which, according to their usual carelessness and indifference, they are not at the pains to call by any other name but Jibbel, the rock, island, or mountain, in general. You should not come within three full leagues of that rock, but leave it at a distance to the westward. You will then see shoals, which form a pretty broad channel, where you have soundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms. And again, standing on directly upon Tor, you have two other oval sands with sunken rocks, in the channel, between which you are to steer. All your danger is here in sight, for you might go in the inside, or to the eastward, of the many small islands you see toward the shore; and there are the anchoring places of the Cairo vessels, which are marked with the black anchor in the draught. This is the course best known and practised by pilots for ships of all sizes. But, by a draught of Mr Niebuhr, who went from Suez with Mahomet Rais Tobal, his track with that large ship was through the channels, till he arrived at the point, where Tor bore a little to the northward of east of him.

Tor may be known at a distance by two hills that stand near the water-side, which, in clear weather, may be seen six leagues off. Just to the south-east of these is the town and harbour, where there are some palm-trees about the houses, the more remarkable, that they are the first you see on the coast. There is no danger in going into Tor harbour: the soundings in the way are clean and regular; and by giving the beacon a small birth on the larboard hand, you may haul in a little to the northward, and anchor in five or six fathom. The bottom of the bay is not a mile from the beacon, and about the same distance from the opposite shore. There is no sensible tide in the

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middle of the Gulf, but, by the sides, it runs full two knots an hour. At springs, it is high water at Tor nearly at twelve o'clock.

On the 9th we arrived at Tor, a small straggling village, with a convent of Greek Monks, belonging to Mount Sinai. Don John de Castro * took this town when it was walled, and fortified, soon after the discovery of the Indies by the Portuguese: it has never since been of any consideration. It serves now, only as a watering-place for ships that go and come from Suez. From this we have a distinct view of the points of the mountains Horeb and Sinai, which appear behind and above the others, their tops being often covered with snow in winter.

There are three things (now I am at the north end of the Arabian Gulf,) of which the reader will expect some account, and I am heartily sorry to say, that I fear I shall be obliged to disappoint him in all, by the unsatisfactory relation I am forced to give.

The first is, Whether the Red Sea is not higher than the Mediterranean, by several feet, or inches? To this I answer, That the fact has been supposed to be so by antiquity, and alleged as a reason why Ptolemy's canal was made from the bottom of the Heroopolitic Gulf, rather than brought due north across the Isthmus of Suez; in which last case, it was feared it would submerge a great part of Asia Minor. But, who has ever attempted to verify this by experiment? or who is capable of settling the difference of levels, amounting, as supposed, to some feet and inches, between two points 120 miles distant from each other, over a desert that has no settled surface, but is changing its height every day? Besides, since all seas are,

* Vide his Journal, published by the Abbé Vertot.

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in fact, but one, What is it that hinders the Indian Ocean to flow to its level? What is it that keeps the Indian Ocean up?

Till this last branch of the question is resolved, I shall take it for granted that no such difference of level exists, whatever Ptolemy's engineers might have pretended to him; because, to suppose it fact, is to suppose the violation of one very material law of nature.

The next thing I have to take notice of, for the satisfaction of my reader, is, the way by which the children of Israel passed the Red Sea at the time of their deliverance from the land of Egypt.

As scripture teaches us, that this passage, wherever it might be, was under the influence of a miraculous power, no particular circumstance of breadth, or depth, makes one place likelier than another. It is a matter of mere curiosity, and can only promote an illustration of the scripture, for which reason, I do not decline the consideration of it.

I shall suppose, that my reader has been sufficiently convinced, by other authors, that the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt in Egypt, was that country lying east of the Nile, and not overflowed by it, bounded by the mountains of the Thebaid on the south, by the Nile and Mediterranean on the west and north, and the Red Sea and desert of Arabia on the east. It was the Heliopolitan nome, its capital was On; from a predilection for the letter O, common to the Hebrews, they called it Goshen *; but its proper name was Geshen, the country of grass, or pasturage; or of the shepherds; in opposition to the rest

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* Probably for *p-kahi n-gesem,* the Land of Grass: *sim* is grass in Coptic.—E.

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of the land which was sown, after having been overflowed by the Nile.

There were three ways by which the children of Israel, flying from Pharoah, could have entered Palestine. The first was by the sea-coast by Gaza, Askelon, and Joppa. This was the plainest and nearest way; and therefore, fittest for people encumbered with kneading-troughs, dough, cattle, and children.—The sea coast was full of rich commercial cities, the mid-land was cultivated and sown with grain. The eastern part, nearest the mountains, was full of cattle and shepherds, as rich a country, and more powerful than the cities themselves.

This narrow valley, between the mountains and the sea, ran all along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from Gaza northward, comprehending the low part of Palestine and Syria. Now, here a small number of men might have passed, under the laws of hospitality; nay, they did constantly pass, it being the high road between Egypt, and Tyre, and Sidon. But the case was different with a multitude, such as six hundred thousand men having their cattle along with them.—These must have occupied the whole land of the Philistines, destroyed all private property, and undoubtedly have occasioned some revolution; and as they were not now intended to be put in possession of the Land of Promise, the measure of the iniquity of the nations being not yet full, God turned them aside from going that way, though the nearest, lest they "should see war *;" that is, lest the people should rise against them, and destroy them.

There was another way which led south-west, upon

* Gen. chap. xiii. ver. 17.

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Beersheba and Hebron, in the middle between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. This was the direction in which Abraham, Lot, and Jacob, are supposed to have reached Egypt. But there was neither food nor water there to sustain the Israelites. When Abraham and Lot returned out of Egypt, they were obliged to separate by consent, because Abraham said to his brother, "The land will not bear us both *."

The third way was straight east into Arabia, pretty much the road by which the pilgrims go at this day to Mecca, and the caravans from Suez to Cairo. In this track they would have gone round by the mountains of Moab, east of the Dead Sea, and passed Jordan in the plain opposite to Jericho, as they did forty years after. But it is plain from Scripture, that God's counsels were to make Pharoah and his Egyptians an example of his vengeance; and, as none of these roads led to the sea, they did not answer the Divine intention.

About twelve leagues from the sea, there was a narrow road which turned to the right, between the mountains, through a valley called Badeah, where their course was nearly south-east; this valley ended in a pass, between two considerable mountains, called Gewoube on the south, and Jebbel Attakah on the north, and opened into the low stripe of country which runs all along the Red Sea; and the Israelites were ordered to encamp at Pihahiroth, opposite to Baal-zephon, between Migdol and that sea.

It will be necessary to explain these names. Badeah, Dr Shaw interprets, the Valley of the Miracle;

* Gen. chap. xiii. ver. 6th. Exod. chap. xiii. ver. 17th.

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but this is forcing an etymology, for there was yet no miracle wrought, nor was there ever any in the valley. But Badeah means barren, bare, and uninhabited; such as we may imagine a valley between stony mountains, a desert valley. *Jibbel Attakah*, he translates also, the Mountain of Deliverance. But so far were the Israelites from being delivered on their arrival at this mountain, that they were then in the greatest distress and danger. *Attakah* means, however, to arrive or come up with, either because there they arrived within sight of the Red Sea; or, as I am rather inclined to think, this place took its name from the arrival of Pharoah, or his coming in sight of the Israelites, when encamped between Midgol and the Red Sea.

Pihahiroth is the mouth of the valley, opening to the flat country and the sea; as I have already said, such are called Mouths; in the Arabic, Fum; as was observed in my journey to Cosseir, where the opening of the valley is called Fum el Beder, the mouth of Beder; Fum el Terfowey, the mouth of Terfowey. Hhoreth, the flat country along the Red Sea, is so called from Hhor, a narrow valley where torrents run, occasioned by sudden irregular showers. Such we have already described on the east side of the mountains, bordering upon that narrow flat country along the Red Sea, where temporary showers fall in great abundance, while none of them touch the west side of the mountains or valley of Egypt. Pihahiroth, then, is the mouth of the valley Badeah; which opens to Hhoreth, the narrow stripe of land where showers fall.

Baal-Zephon, the God of the watch-tower, was probably some idol's temple, which served for a signal-house upon the Cape which forms the north entrance

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of the bay opposite to Jibbel Attakah, where there is still a mosque, or saint's tomb. It was probably a light-house, for the direction of ships going to the bottom of the Gulf, to prevent mistaking it for another foul bay, under the high land, where there is also a tomb of a saint, called Abou Deragé.

The last rebuke God gave to Pharaoh, by slaying all the first-born, seems to have made a strong impression upon the Egyptians. Scripture says, that the people were now urgent with the Israelites to be gone, for they said, " We be all dead men *." And we need not doubt, that it was in order to keep up in their hearts a motive of resentment, strong enough to make them pursue the Israelites, that God caused the Israelites to borrow, and take away the jewels of the Egyptians: without some new cause of anger, the late terrible chastisement might have deterred them. While, therefore, they journeyed eastward towards the desert, the Egyptians had no motive to attack them, because they went with permission there to sacrifice, and were on their return to restore them their moveables. But when the Israelites were observed turning to the south, among the mountains, they were then supposed to flee without a view of returning, because they had left the way of the desert; and therefore Pharaoh, that he might induce the Egyptians to follow them, tells them that the Israelites were now entangled among the mountains, and the wilderness behind them, which was really the case, when they encamped at Pihahiroth, before or south of Baal-Zephon, between Migdol and the sea. Here then, before Migdol, the sea was divided, and they passed over dry-shod to the

* Exod. ch. xii. 33.

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wilderness of Shur, which was immediately opposite to them; a space something less than four leagues, and, so, easily accomplished in one night, without any miraculous interposition.

Three days they were without water, which would bring them to Korondel, where is a spring of brackish, or bitter water, to this day, which probably were the waters of Marah *.

The natives still call this part of the sea Bahar † Kolzum, or the Sea of Destruction; and just opposite to Pihahiroth is a bay, where the North Cape is called Ras Musa, or the Cape of Moses, even now. These are the reasons why I believe the passage of the Israelites to have been in this direction. There is about fourteen fathom of water in the channel, and about nine in the sides, and good anchorage everywhere; the farthest side is a low sandy coast, and a very easy landing-place. The draught of the bottom of the Gulf, given by Doctor Pococke, is very erroneous, in every part of it.

It was proposed to Mr Niebuhr, when in Egypt, to inquire, upon the spot, Whether there were not some ridges of rocks, where the water was shallow, so that an army at particular times might pass over? Secondly, Whether the Etesian winds, which blow strongly all summer from the north-west, could not blow so violently against the sea, as to keep it back on a heap, so that the Israelites might have passed without a mi-

* Such is the tradition among the natives.

† Kolzum is not destruction, but the corrupted name of Clysmae, a town well known in the Grecian periods of the history of Egypt.—E.

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racle? And a copy of these queries * was left for me, to join my inquiries likewise.

But I must confess, however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us, by Scripture, to be a miraculous one; and, if so, we have nothing to do with natural causes. If we do not believe Moses, we need not believe the transaction at all, seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God that he made the sea, we must believe he could divide it when he sees proper reason, and of that he must be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the Red Sea, than to divide the river of Jordan.

If the Etesian wind, blowing from the north-west in summer, could heap up the sea as a wall, on the right, or to the south, of fifty feet high, still the difficulty would remain, of building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day, must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles, that hindered that wall to escape at the sides? This is as great a miracle as that of Moses. If the Etesian winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since, from the same causes. Yet †, Diodorus Siculus says, the Troglodytes, the

* The queries addressed to M. Niebuhr were written by the learned Professor Michaelis of Gottingen. There is a copy of such queries different from these given to Niebuhr among Mr Bruce's papers, in the handwriting of Michaelis. Mr Bruce did not pay great respect to them; though several of the subjects deserved attention. They were, however, of such a nature as no traveller could easily resolve.—E.

† Diod. Sic. Lib. 3. p. 122.

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indigenous inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest and remotest ages, that once a division of the sea did happen there, and that after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again came back, and covered it with great fury. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind. We cannot think this heathen is writing in favour of revelation. He knew not Moses, nor says a word about Pharaoh, and his host; but records the miracle of the division of the sea, in words nearly as strong as those of Moses, from the mouths of unbiassed, undesigning pagans.

Were all these difficulties surmounted, what could we do with the pillar of fire? The answer is, we should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all? We have no authority for the one, but what is for the other; it is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things, and if not a miracle, it must be a fable.

The cause of the several names of the Red Sea, is a subject of more liberal inquiry. I am of opinion, that it certainly derived its name from Edom, long and early its powerful master, that word signifying the Red in Hebrew. It formerly went by the name of Sea of Edom, or Idumea; since, by that of the Red Sea.

It has been observed, indeed, that not only the Arabian Gulf, but part of the Indian Ocean *, went by this name, though far distant from Idumea. This is true; but when we consider, as we shall do in the

* Dionysii, Periegesis, v. 38 et Comment. Eusthatii in eundem. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. ii. cap. 11.

the course of this history, that the masters of that sea were still the Edomites, who went from the one sea directly in the same voyage to the other, we shall not dispute the propriety of extending the name to part of the Indian Ocean also. As for what fanciful people * have said of any redness in the sea itself, or colour in the bottom, the reader may assure himself all this is fiction, the Red Sea being in colour nothing different from the Indian or any other ocean.

There is greater difficulty in assigning a reason for the Hebrew name, Yam Suph; properly so called, say learned authors, from the quantity of weeds in it. But I must confess, in contradiction to this, that I never in my life, (and I have seen the whole extent of it) saw a weed of any sort in it; and, indeed, upon the slightest consideration, it will occur to any one, that a narrow gulf, under the immediate influence of monsoons, blowing from contrary points six months each year, would have too much agitation to produce such vegetables, seldom found but in stagnant waters, and seldomer, if ever, found in salt ones. My opinion then is, that it is from the † large trees, or plants of white coral, spread every where over the bottom of the Red Sea, perfectly in imitation of plants on land, that the sea has obtained this name. If not, I fairly confess I have not any other conjecture to make ‡.

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* *Jerome Lobo*, the greatest liar of the Jesuits, ch. iv. p. 46. English translation.

† I saw one of these, which, from a root nearly central, threw out ramifications in nearly a circular form, measuring twenty-six feet diameter every way.

‡ The Red Sea is called in Coptic *Phiom an-shairi*, the sea of weeds; sari according to Hesychius is a plant growing in the fens

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No sea, or shores, I believe, in the world, abound more in subjects of Natural History than the Red Sea. I suppose I have drawings and subjects of this kind, equal in bulk to the journal of the whole voyage itself. But the vast expence in engraving, as well as other considerations, will probably hinder for ever the perfection of this work in that particular.

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in Egypt. It is almost certain, that sûf signifies the same aquatic plant denoted by *shairi*. And this seems to be the old Egyptian name, common before the Edomites had become a great nation. Yam Edom, the Sea of Edom, might easily be translated the Red Sea by ignorant foreigners. Mr Bruce, however, is surely mistaken in his opinion as to its scarcity of vegetable productions.—E.

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CHAP. X.

Sail from Tor—Pass the Elanitic Gulf—See Radua—Arrive at Yambo—Incidents there—Arrive at Jidda.

OUR Rais, having dispatched his business, was eager to depart; and, accordingly, on the 11th of April, at daybreak, we stood out of the harbour of Tor. At first, we were becalmed at the point of the Bay south of Tor town, but the wind freshening about eight o'clock, we stood through the channels of the first four shoals, and then between a smaller one. We made the mouth of a small bay, formed by Cape Mahomet, and a low sandy point to the eastward of it. Our vessel seemed to be a capital one for sailing, and I did every thing in my power to keep our Rais in good humour.

About half a mile from the sandy point, we struck upon a coral bank, which, though it was not of any great consistence or solidity, did not fail to make our mast nod. As I was looking out forward when the vessel touched, and the Rais by me, I cried out in Arabic, "Get out of the way, you dog?" The Rais, thinking my discourse directed to him, seemed very much surprised, and asked, "what I meant?" "Why,

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did you not tell me," said I, "when I hired you, that all the rocks of the sea would get out of the way of your vessel? This ill-mannered fellow here did not know his duty; he was sleeping, I suppose, and has given us a hearty jolt, and I was abusing him for it, till you shall chastise him some other way." He shook his head, and said, "Well! you do not believe, but God knows the truth; well now, where is the rock? Why, he is gone." However, very prudently, he anchored soon afterwards, though we had received no damage.

At night, by an observation of two stars in the meridian, I concluded the latitude of Cape Mahomet to be 27° 54′, N. It must be understood of the mountain, or high land, which forms the cape, not the low point. The ridge of rocks that run along behind Tor, bound that low sandy country, called the Desert of Sin, to the eastward, and end in this Cape, which is the high land observed at sea; but the lower part, or southermost extreme of the Cape, runs about three leagues off from the high land, and is so low, that it cannot be seen from deck above three leagues. It was called, by the ancients, Pharan Promontorium; not because there was a light-house * upon the end of it, (though this may have perhaps been the case, and a very necessary and proper situation it is) but from the Egyptian and Arabic word Farek †, which signifies to divide, as being the point, or high land, that divides the Gulf of Suez from the Elanitic Gulf.

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* Anciently called Pharos. This is not a certain derivation. —E.

† The Khoran is, therefore, called *El Farkan*, or the Divider, or Distinguisher between true faith and heresy.

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I went ashore here to gather shells, and shot a small animal among the rocks, called Daman Israel, or Israel's Lamb; I do not know why, for it has no resemblance to the sheep kind. I take it to be the saphan of the Hebrew Scripture, which we translate by the coney. I have given a drawing, and description of it, in its proper place *. I shot, likewise, several dozens of gooto, the least beautiful of the kind I had seen, being very small, and coloured like the back of a partridge, but very indifferent food.

The 12th, we sailed from Cape Mahomet, just as the sun appeared. We passed the island of Tyrone, in the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf, which divides it near equally into two; or, rather the north-west side is narrowest. The direction of the gulf is nearly north and south. I judge it to be about six leagues over. Many of the Cairo ships are lost in mistaking the entry of the Elanitic for that of the Heroopolitic Gulf, or Gulf of Suez; for, from the island of Tyrone, which is not above two leagues from the main, there runs a string of islands, which seems to make a semicircular bar across the entry from the point, where a ship, going with a south wind, would take its departure; and this range of islands ends in a shoal with sunken rocks, which reaches nearly five leagues from the main. It is probable, that, upon these islands, the fleet of Jehosaphat perished, when sailing for the expedition of Ophir †.

I take Tyrone to be the island of Saspirene of Ptolemy, though this geographer has erred a little, both in its latitude and longitude.

We passed the second of these islands, called Se-

* See the article Ashkoko in the Appendix.

† 2 Chron. chap. xx. ver. 37.

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naffer, about three leagues to the northward, steering with a fresh gale at south-east, upon a triangular island that has three pointed eminences upon its south side. We passed another small island, which has no name, about the same distance as the former; and ranged along three black rocks, the south-west of the island, called Sufange el Bahar, or the Sea-Sponge. —As our vessel made some water, and the wind had been very strong all the afternoon, the Rais wanted to bring up to the leeward of this island, or between this, and a cape of land, called Ras Selah; but, not being able to find soundings here, he set sail again, doubled the point, and came to anchor under the south cape of a fine bay, which is a station of the Emir Hadge, called Kalaat el Moilah, the castle, or station, of Water.

We had sailed this day about twenty-one leagues; and, as we had very fair and fine weather, and were under no sort of concern whatever, I could not neglect attending to the disposition of these islands, in a very splendid map, lately published. They are carried too far into the Gulf.

The 13th, the Rais having in the night remedied what was faulty in the vessel, set sail about seven o'clock in the morning. We passed a conical hill on the land, called Abou Jubbé, where is the sepulchre of a saint of that name. The mountains here are at a considerable distance; and nothing can be more desolate and bare than the coast. In the afternoon, we came to an anchor at a place called Kella Clarega, after having passed an island, called Jibbel Numan, about a league from the shore. By the side of this shoal, we caught a quantity of good fish, and a great number also very beautiful, and perfectly unknown, but which, when roasted, shrunk away to nothing ex-

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cept skin, and, when boiled, dissolved into a kind of blueish glue.

On the 14th, the wind was variable till near ten o'clock. after which it became a little fair. At twelve it was as favourable as we could wish ; it blew, however, but faintly. We passed first by one island, surrounded by breakers, and then by three more, and anchored close to the shore, at a place, called Jibbel Shekh, or the mountain of the Saint. Here I resolved to take a walk on shore to stretch my limbs, and see if I could procure any game, to afford us some variety of food. I had my gun loaded with ball, when a vast flock of gooto got up before me, not five hundred yards from the shore. As they lighted very near me, I lay down among the bent grass, to draw the charge, and load with small shot. While I was doing this, I saw two antelopes, which, by their manner of walking and feeding, did not seem to be frightened. I returned my balls into the gun, and resolved to lie close among the bent, till they should appear before me.

I had been quiet for some minutes, when I heard behind me, something like a person breathing, on which I turned about, and, not without great surprise, and some little fear, saw a man, standing just over me. I started up, while the man, who had a little stick only in his hand, ran two or three steps backwards, and then stood. He was almost perfectly naked : he had half a yard of coarse rag only wrapt round his middle, and a crooked knife stuck in it. I asked him who he was ? He said he was an Arab, belonging to Shekh Abd-el-Macaber. I then desired to know where his master was ? He replied, he was at the hill a little above, with camels that were going to Yambo. He, then, in his turn, asked who I was ? I told him I was an Abyssinian slave of the sherriffe of

Mecca, was going to Cairo by sea, but wished much to speak to his master, if he would go and bring him. The savage went away with great willingness, and he no sooner disappeared, than I set out as quickly as possible to the boat, and we got her hauled out beyond the shoals, where we passed the night. We saw afterwards, distinctly, about fifty men, and three or four camels; the men made several signs to us, but we were perfectly content with the distance that was between us, and sought no more to kill antelopes in the neighbourhood of Sidi Abd-el-Macaber.

I would not have it imagined, that my case was absolutely desperate, even if I had been known as a Christian, and fallen into the hands of these Arabs of Arabia Deserta, or Arabia Petrea, supposed to be the most barbarous people in the world, as, indeed, they probably are. Hospitality, and attention to one's word, seem in these countries to be in proportion to the degree in which the people are savage. A very easy method is known, and followed with constant success, by all the Christians trading to the Red Sea from Suez to Jidda, to save themselves if thrown on the coast of Arabia. Any man of consideration from any tribe among the Arabs comes to Cairo, gives his name and designation to the Christian sailor, and receives a very small present, which is repeated annually if he performs so often the voyage. And for this the Arab promises the Christian his protection, should he ever be so unfortunate as to be shipwrecked on their coast.

The Turks are very bad seamen, and lose many ships; the greatest part of the crew are, therefore, Christians; when a vessel strikes, or is ashore, the Turks are all massacred if they cannot make their way good by force; but the Christians present themselves to the Arab, crying "Fiarduc," which means,

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"we are under immediate protection." If they are asked, who is their Gaffeer, or Arab, with whom they are in friendship? They answer, "Mahomet Abd-el-cader is our Gaffeer," or any other. If he is not there, you are told he is absent so many days journey, or any distance. This acquaintance, or neighbour, then helps you to save what you have from the wreck, and one of them with his lance draws a circle, large enough to hold you and yours. He then sticks his lance in the sand, bids you abide within that circle, and goes and brings your Gaffeer, with what camels you want, and this Gaffeer is obliged, by rules known only to themselves, to carry you for nothing, or very little, wherever you go, and to furnish you with provisions all the way. Within that circle you are as safe on the desert coast of Arabia, as in a citadel; there is no example, or exception, to the contrary, that has ever yet been known. There are many Arabs, who, from situation, near dangerous shoals, or places where ships often perish, (as between Ras Mahomet and Ras Selah, Dar el Hamra *, and some others), have, perhaps, fifty or a hundred Christians, who have been so protected; So that, when this Arab marries a daughter, he gives, perhaps, his revenue from four or five protected Christians, as part of his daughter's portion. I had, at this very time, a Gaffeer, called Ibn Talil, an Arab of the Harb tribe, and I should have been detained, perhaps, three days, till he had come from near Medina, and carried me (had I been shipwrecked) to Yambo, where I was going.

On the 15th, we came to an anchor at El Har †,

* See the Map.

† El Har signifies extreme heat. Fi arduc is "in thy country."

where we saw high, craggy, and broken mountains, called the Mountains of Ruddua. These abound with springs of water; all sort of Arabian and African fruits grow here in perfection, and every kind of vegetable that they will take the pains to cultivate. It is the paradise of the people of Yambo; those of any substance have country houses there; but, strange to tell, they stay there but for a short time, and prefer the bare, dry, and burning sands about Yambo, to one of the finest climates, and most verdant pleasant countries, that exists in the world. The people of the place have told me, that water freezes there in winter, and that there are some of the inhabitants, who have red hair, and blue eyes, a thing scarcely ever seen in the coldest mountains in the east.

The 16th, about ten o'clock, we passed a mosque, or Shekh's tomb on the main land, on our left hand, called Kubbet Yambo, and before eleven, we anchored in the mouth of the port in deep water. Yambo, corruptly called Imbo, is an ancient city, now dwindled into a paltry village. Ptolemy calls it Iambia Vicus, or the village Yambia; a proof it was of no great importance in his time. But, after the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, under Sultan Selim, it became a valuable station, for supplying their conquests in Arabia, with warlike stores, from Suez, and for the importation of wheat from Egypt to their garrisons, and the holy places of Mecca and Medina. On this account, a large castle was built there by Sinan Basha; for the ancient Yambo of Ptolemy is not that which is called so at this day. It is six miles farther south; and is called Yambo el Nachel, or, "Yambo among the palm-trees," a great quantity of ground being there covered with this sort of plantation.

Yambo, in the language of the country, signifies a fountain or spring, a very copious one of excellent wa-

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ter being found there among the date trees, and it is one of the stations of the Emir Hadje in going to, and coming from Mecca. The advantage of the port, however, which the other has not, and the protection of the castle, have carried trading vessels to the modern Yambo, where there is no water but what is brought from pools, dug on purpose to receive the rain when it falls.

There are two hundred janizaries in the castle, the descendents of those brought thither by Sinan Basha; who have succeeded their fathers, in the way I have observed they did at Syené, and, indeed, in all the conquests in Arabia and Egypt. The inhabitants of Yambo are deservedly reckoned * the most barbarous of any upon the Red Sea, and the janizaries keep pace with them in every kind of malice and violence. We did not go ashore all that day, because we had heard a number of shots, and had received intelligence from shore, that the janizaries and town's people, for a week, had been fighting together. I was very unwilling to interfere, wishing that they might have all leisure to extirpate one another, if possible; and my Rais seemed most heartily to join me in my wishes.

In the evening, the captain of the port came on board, and brought two janizaries with him, whom, with some difficulty, I suffered to enter the vessel. Their first demand was gun-powder; which I positively refused. I then asked them, how many were killed in the eight days they had been engaged? They answered, with some indifference, not many, about a hundred every day, or a few less or more, chiefly Arabs. We heard afterwards, when we came on shore, one only had been wounded, and that a soldier, by a

* Vide Irvine's Letters.

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fall from his horse. They insisted upon bringing the vessel into the port; but I told them, on the contrary, that having no business at Yambo, and being by no means under the guns of their castle, I was at liberty to put to sea without coming ashore at all; therefore, if they did not leave us, as the wind was favourable, I would sail, and, by force, carry them to Jidda. The janizaries began to talk, as their custom is, in a very blustering and warlike tone; but I, who knew my interest at Jidda, and the force in my own hand; that my vessel was afloat, and could be under weigh in an instant, never was less disposed to be bullied, than at that moment. They asked me a thousand questions, whether I was a Mameluke, whether I was a Turk, or whether I was an Arab, and why I did not give them spirits and tobacco? To all which I answered, only, that they should know to-morrow who I was: then I ordered the Emir Bahar, the captain of the port, to carry them ashore at his peril, or I would take their arms from them, and confine them on board all night.

The Rais gave the captain of the port a private hint, to take care what they did, for they might loss their lives; and that private caution, understood in a different way, perhaps, than was meant, had effect upon the soldiers, to make them withdraw immediately. When they went away, I begged the Emir Bahar to make my compliments to his masters, Hassan and Hussein, Agas, to know what time I should wait upon them to-morrow; and desired him, in the mean time, to keep his soldiers ashore, as I was not disposed to be troubled with their insolence.

Soon after they went, we heard a great firing, and saw lights all over the town; and the Rais proposed to me to slip immediately, and set sail; from which measure I was not at all averse. But, as he said, we had a better anchoring-place under the mosque of the

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Shekh, and, besides, that there we would be in a place of safety, by reason of the holiness of the saint, and that at our own choice might even put to sea in a moment; or stay till to-morrow, as we were in no sort of doubt of being able to repel force by force, if attacked, we got under weigh, a few hundred yards, and dropt our anchor under the shrine of one of the greatest saints in the world.

At night the firing had abated, the lights diminished, and the captain of the port again came on board. He was surprised at missing us at our former anchoring place. and still more so, when, on our hearing the noise of his oars, we hailed, and forbade him to advance any nearer, till he should tell us how many he had on board, or whether he had soldiers or not, otherwise we should fire upon them. To this he answered, "that there were only himself, his boy, and three officers, servants to the Aga." "I replied, "that three strangers were too many at that time of the night; but, since they were come from the Aga, they might advance."

All our people were sitting together, armed, on the fore-part of the vessel; I soon divined they intended us no harm, for they gave us the salute, Salem Alicum! before they were within ten yards of us. I answered with great complacency; we handed them on board, and set them down upon deck. The three officers were genteel young men, of a sickly appearance, dressed in the fashion of the country, in long burnooses loosely hanging about them, striped with red and white; they wore a turban of red, green, and white, with ten thousand tassels and fringes hanging down to the small of their backs. They had in their hand, each, a short javelin, the shaft not above four feet and a half long, with an iron head about nine inches long, and two or three iron hooks below the

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shaft, which was bound round with brass-wire, in several places, and shod with iron at the further end.

They asked me where I came from? I said, "from Constantinople, last from Cairo; but begged they would put no more questions to me, as I was not at liberty to answer them." They said, "they had orders from their masters to bid me welcome, if I was the person that had been recommended to them by the Sherriffe, and was Ali Bey's physician at Cairo." I said, "If Metical Aga had advised them of that, then I was the man." They replied, "he had, and were come to bid me welcome, and attend me on shore to their masters whenever I pleased." I begged them to carry my humble respects to their masters; and told them, though I did not doubt of their protection in any shape, yet I could not think it consistent with ordinary prudence, to risk myself, at ten o'clock at night, in a town so full of disorder as Yambo appeared to have been for some time, and where so little regard was paid to discipline or command, as to fight with one another. They said that was true, and I might do as I pleased; but the firing that I had heard did not proceed from fighting, but from their rejoicing upon making peace.

In short, we found, that, upon some discussion, the garrison and townsmen had been fighting for several days; in which disorders, the greatest part of the ammunition in the town had been expended; but it had since been agreed on by the old men of both parties, that nobody had been to blame on either side, but that the whole wrong was the work of a camel. A camel, therefore, was seized, and brought without the town, and there a number of old men having met, they upbraided the camel with every thing that had been either said or done. The camel had killed men, he had threatened to set the town on fire; the camel

had threatened to burn the Aga's house and the castle; he had cursed the Grand Signior, and the Sherriffe of Mecca, the sovereigns of the two parties; and (the only thing the poor animal was interested in) he had threatened to destroy the wheat that was going to Mecca. After having spent great part of the afternoon in upbraiding the camel, whose measure of iniquity, it seems, was nearly full, each man thrust him through with a lance, devoting him, as it were, *Diis manibus et Diris*, by a kind of prayer, and with a thousand curses upon his head. After which, every man retired, fully satisfied as to the wrongs he had received from the camel.

The reader will easily observe in this, some traces of the azazel *, or scape goat of the Jews, which was turned out into the wilderness, loaded with the sins of the people.

Next morning I went to the palace, as we call it, in which were some very handsome apartments. There was a guard of janizaries at the door, who, being warriors, lately come from the bloody battle of the camel, did not fail to shew marks of insolence, which they wished to be mistaken for courage.

The two Agas were sitting on a high bench upon Persian carpets; and about forty well-dressed and well-looking men (many of them old), sitting on carpets upon the floor, in a semicircle round them. They behaved with great politeness and attention, and asked no questions but general ones; as, How the sea agreed with me? If there was plenty at Cairo? till I was going away, when the youngest of the Agas inquired, with a seeming degree of diffidence, Whether Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab was ready to march? As

* Levit. chap. xvi. ver. 5. A custom older than the Jewish law; borrowed from Egypt. For cases parallel to this at Imbo, see Plut. de Isid. p. 363, and Herod. B. II. ch. 39.—E.

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I knew well what this question meant, I answered, "I know not if he is ready, he has made great preparations." The other Aga said, "I hope you will be a messenger of peace?" I answered, "I entreat you to ask me no questions; I hope, by the grace of God, all will go well." Every person present applauded the speech; agreed to respect my secret, as they supposed I had one, and they were all inclined to believe, that I was a man in the confidence of Ali Bey, and that his hostile designs against Mecca were laid aside. This was just what I wished them to suppose; for it secured me against ill usage all the time I chose to stay there; and of this I had a proof in the instant, for a very good house was provided for me by the Aga, and a man of his sent to show me to it.

I wondered the Rais had not come home with me; who, in about half an hour after I had got into my house, came and told me, that, when the captain of the boat came on board the first time with the two soldiers, he had put a note, which they call tiskera, into his hand, pressing him into the Sheriffe's service, to carry wheat to Jidda, and, with the wheat, a number of poor pilgrims that were going to Mecca at the Sheriffe's expence. Finding us, however, out of the harbour, and suspecting, from our manners and carriage towards the janizaries, that we were people who knew what we had to trust to, he had taken the two soldiers ashore with him, who were by no means fond of their reception, or inclined to stay in such company; and, indeed, our dresses, and appearances in the boat, were fully as likely to make strangers believe we should rob them, as theirs were to impress us with an apprehension that they would rob us. The Rais said also, that, after my audience, the Aga had called upon him, and taken away the tiskera, telling him he was free, and to obey nobody but me; and sent me one

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of his servants to sit at the door, with orders to admit nobody but whom I pleased, and that I might not be troubled with the people of Yambo.

Hitherto all was well; but it had been with me an observation, which had constantly held good, that too prosperous beginnings in these countries always ended in ill at the last. I was therefore resolved to use my prosperity with great temperance and caution, make myself as strong, and use my strength as little, as it was possible for me to do.

There was a man of considerable weight in Aleppo, named * Sidi Ali Taraboloussi, who was a great friend of Dr Russel, our physician at Aleppo, through whom I became acquainted with him. He was an intimate friend and acquaintance of the cadi of Medina, and had given me a letter to him, recommending me, in a very particular manner, to his protection and services. I inquired about this person, and was told he was in town, directing the distribution of the corn to be sent to his capital. Upon my inquiry, the news were carried to him as soon almost as his name was uttered; on which, being desirous of knowing what sort of man I was, about eight o'clock in the morning he sent me a message, and, immediately after, I received a visit from him.

I was putting my telescopes and time-keeper in order, and had forbid admittance to any one; but this was so holy and so dignified a person, that all doors were open to him. He observed me working about the great telescope and quadrant in my shirt; for it was hot beyond conception upon the smallest exertion. Without making any apology for the intrusion at all, he broke out into exclamation, How lucky he

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* Native of Tripoli. It is Arabic.

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was! and, without regarding me, he went from telescope to clock, from clock to quadrant, and from that to the thermometer, crying, "Ah tibe, ah tibe!"— This is fine, this is fine! He scarcely looked upon me, or seemed to think I was worth his attention, but touched every thing so carefully, and handled so properly the brass cover of the alidade, which inclosed the horse-hair with the plummet, that he seemed to be a man more than ordinarily versed in the use of astronomical instruments. In short, not to repeat useless matter to the reader, I found he had studied at Constantinople, understood the principles of geometry very tolerably, and was master of Euclid so far as it regarded plain trigonometry; the demonstrations of which he rattled off so rapidly, that it was impossible to follow, or to understand him. He knew nothing of spherics, and all his astronomy resolved itself at last into maxims of judicial astrology, first and second houses of the planets and ascendancies, very much in the style of common almanacks *.

He desired that my door might be open to him at all times, especially when I made observations; he also knew perfectly the division of our clocks, and begged he might count time for me. All this was easily granted, and I had from him, what was most useful, a history of the situation of the government of the place, by which I learned, that the two young men (the governors) were slaves of the Sheriffe of Mecca; that it was impossible for any one, the most intimate with them, to tell which of the two was most base, or profligate; that they would have robbed us all of the last farthing, if they had not been restrained by fear; and that there was a foreigner, or a Frank, very lately going to India, who had disappeared, but, as he believ-

* This has long been the *bourne* of Arabian astronomy.—E.

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ed, had been privately put to death in prison, for he had never after been heard of.

Though I cannot say I relished this account, yet I put on the very best face possible. "Here, in a garrison town," said I, "with very worthless soldiers, they might do what they pleased with six or seven strangers; but I do not fear them; I now tell them, and the people of Yambo, all and each of them, they had better be in their bed sick of the plague, than touch a hair of my dog, if I had one." "And so," says he, "they know; therefore rest and rejoice, and stay as long with us as you can." "As short time as possible," said I, "Sidi Mahomet; although I do not fear wicked people, I don't love them so much as to stay long with them."

He then asked me a favour, that I would allow my Rais to carry a quantity of wheat for him to Jidda; which I willingly permitted, upon condition, that he would order but one man to go along with it; on which he declared solemnly, that none but one should go, and that I might even throw him into the sea, if he behaved improperly. However, afterwards, he sent three; and one who deserved often to be thrown into the sea, as he had permitted. "Now, friend," said I, "I have done every thing that you desired, though favours should have begun with you upon your own principle, as I am the stranger. Now, what I have to ask you is this, Do you know the Shekh of Beder Hunien?" "Know him!" says he, "I am married to his sister, a daughter of Harb; he is of the tribe of Harb." "Harb be it, then," said I, "your trouble will be the less; then, you are to send a camel to your brother-in-law, who will procure me the largest, and most perfect plant possible of the balsam of Mecca. He is not to break the stem, nor even the branches, but to pack it entire, with fruit and flower, if possible, and wrapt in a mat."

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He looked cunning, shrugged up his shoulders, drew up his mouth, and putting his finger to his nose, said, "Enough, I know all about this; you shall find what sort of a man I am; I am no fool, as you shall see."

I received this the third day at dinner, but the flower (if there had been any) was rubbed off. The fruit was in several stages, and in great perfection. The drawing, and description from this plant *, will, I hope, for ever obviate all difficulty about its history. He sent me, likewise, a quart bottle of the pure balsam, as it had flowed that year from the tree, with which I have verified what the old botanists, in their writings, have said of it, in its several stages. He told me all the circumstances I have related in my description of the balsam, as to the gathering and preparing of the several kinds of it, and a curious anecdote as to its origin. He said, the plant was no part of the creation of God in the six days, but that, in the last of three very bloody battles, which Mahomet fought with the noble Arabs of Harb, and his kinsmen, the Beni Koreish, then Pagans at Beder Hunein, that Mahomet prayed to God, and a grove of balsam trees grew up from the blood of the slain upon the field of battle; and that, with the balsam that flowed from them, he touched the wounds even of those that were dead, and all those predestined to be good Mussulmen afterwards, immediately came to life. "I hope," said I, "friend, that the other things you told me of it, are fully as true as this, for they will otherwise laugh at me in England." "No, no;" says he, "not half so true, nor a quarter so true; there is nothing in the world so certain as this." But his looks,

* See the article Ballesan in the Appendix.

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and his laughing very heartily, shewed me plainly he knew better, as, indeed, most of them do.

In the evening, before we departed, about nine o'clock, I had an unexpected visit from the youngest of the two Agas; who, after many pretended complaints of sickness, and injunctions of secrecy, at last modestly requested me to give him some slow poison, that might kill his brother, without suspicion, and after some time should elapse. I told him, such proposals were not to be made to a man like me; that all the gold, and all the silver in the world, would not engage me to poison the poorest vagrant in the street, supposing it never was suspected or known, but to my own heart. All he said was, "Then, your manners are not the same as ours." I answered, dryly, "Mine, I thank God, are not," and so we parted.

Yambo, or at least the present town of that name, I found, by many observations of the sun and stars, to be in latitude 24° 3′ 35″ north, and in long. 38° 16′ 30″ east from the meridian of Greenwich. The barometer, at its highest, on the 23d of April, was 27° 8′, and the lowest, on the 27th, was 26° 11′.—The thermometer, on the 14th of April, at two o'clock in the afternoon, stood at 91°, and the lowest was 66° in the morning of the 26th of the same month. Yambo is reputed very unwholesome, but there were no epidemical diseases when I was there.

The many delays of loading the wheat, the desire of doubling the quantity I had permitted, in which both the Rais, and my friend, the cadi, conspired for their mutual interest, detained me at Yambo all the 27th of April, very much against my inclination.—For I was not a little uneasy at thinking among what banditti I lived, whose daily wish was to rob and murder me, from which they were restrained by fear only; and this, a fit of drunkenness, or a piece of bad

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news, such as a report of Ali Bey's death, might remove in a moment. Indeed, we were allowed to want nothing. A sheep, some bad beer, and some very good wheat-bread, were delivered to us every day from the Aga, which, with dates and honey, and a variety of presents from those that I attended as a physician, made us pass our time comfortably enough; we went frequently in the boats to fish at sea, and, as I had brought with me three fizgigs of different sizes, with the proper lines, I seldom returned without killing four or five dolphins. The sport with the line was likewise excellent. We caught a number of beautiful fish from the very house where we lodged, and some few good ones. We had vinegar in plenty at Yambo; onions, and several other greens, from Ruddua; and being all cooks, we lived well.

On the 28th of April, in the morning, I sailed with a cargo of wheat that did not belong to me, and three passengers, instead of one, for whom only I had undertaken. The wind was fair, and I saw one advantage of allowing the Rais to load, was, that he was determined to carry sail to make amends for the delay. There was a tumbling, disagreeable swell, and the wind seemed dying away. One of our passengers was very sick. At his request we anchored at Djar, a round small port, whose entrance is at the north-east. It is about three fathoms deep throughout, unless just upon the south side, and perfectly sheltered from every wind. We saw here, for the first time, several plants of rack-tree, growing considerably within the sea-mark, in some places with two feet of water upon the trunk. I found the latitude of Djar to be 23° 36′ 9″ north. The mountains of Beder Hunien were S. S. W. of us.

The 29th, at five o'clock in the morning, we sailed from Djar. At eight, we passed a small cape, called

Ras el Himma, Cape Fever; and the wind turning still more fresh, we passed a kind of harbour, called Maibeed, where there is an anchoring-place, named El Horma. The sun was in the meridian when we passed this; and I found, by observation, El Horma was in lat. 23° 0′ 30″ north. At ten, we passed a mountain on land, called Soub; at two, the small port of Muftura, under a mountain, whose name is Hajoub; at half past four we came to an anchor at a place called Harar. The wind had been contrary all the night, being south-east, and rather fresh; we thought, too, we perceived a current setting strongly to the westward.

On the 30th we sailed at eight in the morning, but the wind was unfavourable, and we made little way. We were surrounded with a great many sharks, some of which seemed to be large. Though I had no line but upon the small fizgigs for dolphins, I could not refrain from attempting one of the largest; for they were so bold, that some of them, we thought, intended to leap on board. I struck one of the most forward of them, just at the joining of the neck; but as we were not practised enough in laying our line, so as to run out without hitching, he leaped about two feet out of the water, then plunged down with prodigious violence, and our line taking hold of something standing in the way, the cord snapped asunder, and away went the shark. All the others disappeared in an instant; but the Rais said, as soon as they smelled the blood, they would not leave the wounded one, till they had torn him to pieces. I was truly sorry for the loss of my tackle, as the two others were really liker harpoons, and not so manageable. But the Rais, whom I had studied to keep in very good humour, and had befriended in every thing, was an old harpooner in the Indian Ocean, and he pulled out from

his hold a complete apparatus. He not only had a small harpoon like my first, but better constructed.—He had, likewise, several hooks with long chains and lines, and a wheel with a long hair line to it, like a small windlass, to which he equally fixed the line of the harpoon, and those of the hooks. This was a compliment he saw I took very kindly, and did not doubt it would be rewarded in the proper time.

The wind freshening and turning fairer, at noon we brought to, within sight of Rabac, and at one o'clock anchored there. Rabac is a small port in lat. 22° 46′ north. The entry is E. N. E. and is about a quarter of a mile broad. The port extends itself to the east, and is about two miles long. The mountains are about three leagues to the north, and the town of Rabac about four miles north by east from the entrance to the harbour. We remained all day, the first of May, in the port, making a drawing of the harbour. The night of our anchoring there, the Emir Hadje of the pilgrims from Mecca encamped about three miles off. We heard his evening gun.

The passengers, that had been sick, now insisted upon going to see the Hadje; but, as I knew the consequence would be, that a number of fanatic wild people would be down upon us, I told the Rais plainly, if he went from the boat, he should not again be received; and that we would haul out of the port, and anchor in the offing; this kept him with us. But all the next day he was in very bad humour, repeating frequently, to himself, that he deserved all this for embarking with infidels.

The people came down to us from Rabac with water-melons, and skins full of water. All ships may be supplied here plentifully from wells near the town; the water is not bad.

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The country is level, and seemingly uncultivated, but has not so desert a look as about Yambo. I should suspect by its appearance, and the freshness of its water, that it rained at times in the mountains here, for we were now considerably within the tropic, which passes very near Ras el Himma, whereas Rabac is about half a degree to the southward.

On the 2d, at five o'clock in the morning, we sailed from Rabac, with a very little wind, scarcely making two knots an hour.

At half past nine, Deneb bore east and by south from us. This place is known by a few palm-trees. The port is small, and very indifferent, at least for six months of the year, because it lies open to the south, and there is a prodigious swell here.

At one o'clock we passed an island called Hammel, about a mile off; at the same time, another island, el Memisk, bore east of us, about three miles, where there is good anchorage.

At three and three quarters, we passed an island, called Gawad, a mile and a quarter south-east of us. The mainland bore, likewise, south-east, distant something more than a league. We here changed our course from south to W. S. W. and at four o'clock came to an anchor at the small island of Lajac.

The 3d, we sailed at half past four in the morning, our course W. S. W. but it fell calm; after having made about a league, we found ourselves off Ras Hateba, or the Woody Cape, which bore due east of us. After doubling the cape, the wind freshening, at four o'clock in the afternoon we anchored in the port of Jidda, close upon the key, where the officers of the custom-house immediately took possession of our baggage.

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CHAP. XI.

Occurrences at Jidda—Visit of the Vizir—Alarm of the Factory—Great civility of the English trading from India—Polygamy—Opinion of Dr Arbuthnot ill-founded—Contrary to reason and experience —Leave Jidda.

THE port of Jidda is a very extensive one, consisting of numberless shoals, small islands, and sunk rocks, with channels, however, between them, and deep water. You are very safe in Jidda harbour, whatever wind blows, as there are numberless shoals which prevent the water from ever being put into any general motion; and you may moor head and stern, with twenty anchors out if you please. But the danger of being lost, I conceive, lies in the going in and coming out of the harbour. Indeed, the observation is here verified, the more dangerous the port, the abler the pilots, and no accidents ever happen.

There is a draught of the harbour of Jidda handed about among the English for many years, very inaccurately, and very ill laid down, from what authority I know not; often condemned, but never corrected; as also a pretended chart of the upper part of the Gulf, from Jidda to Mocha, full of soundings. As I was some months at Jidda, kindly entertained, and had abundance of time, Captain Thornhill, and some

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more of the gentlemen trading thither, wished me to make a survey of the harbour, and promised me the assistance of their officers, boats, and crews. I very willingly undertook it to oblige them. Finding afterwards, however, that one of their number, Captain Newland, had undertaken it, and that he would be hurt by my interfering, as he was in some manner advanced in the work, I gave up all further thoughts of the plan. He was a man of real ingenuity and capacity, as well as very humane, well-behaved, and one to whom I had been indebted for every sort of attention.

God forgive those who have taken upon them, very lately, to ingraft a number of new soundings upon that miserable bundle of errors, that chart of the upper part of the Gulf from Jidda to Mocha, which has been tossed about the Red Sea these twenty years and upwards. One of these, since my return to Europe, has been sent to me new-dressed like a bride, with all its original and mortal sins upon its head. I would beg leave to be understood, that there is not in the world a man more averse than I am to give offence even to a child. It is not in the spirit of criticism I speak this. In any other case, I would not have made any observations at all. But, where the lives and properties of so many men are at stake, yearly, it is a species of treason to conceal one's sentiments, if the publishing of them can any way contribute to safety, whatever offence it may give to unreasonable individuals.

Of all the vessels in Jidda, two only had their log lines properly divided, and yet all were so fond of their supposed accuracy, as to aver they had kept their course within five leagues, between India and Babelmandel. Yet they had made no estimation of

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the currents without the Babs*, nor the different very strong ones soon after passing Socotra; their half-minute glasses upon a medium ran 57″; they had made no observation on the tides, or currents, in the Red Sea, either in the channel, or in the inward passage; yet there is delineated in this map a course of Captain Newland's, which he kept in the middle of the channel, full of sharp angles and short stretches; you would think every yard was measured and sounded.

To the spurious catalogue of soundings found in the old chart above mentioned, there is added a double proportion of new, from what authority is not known; so that from Mocha, to lat. 17°, you have, as it were, soundings every mile, or even less. No one can cast his eyes on the upper part of the map, but must think the Red Sea one of the most frequented places in the world. Yet I will aver, without fear of being contradicted, that it is a characteristic of the Red Sea, scarce to have soundings in any part of the channel, and often on both sides, whilst ashore soundings are hardly found a boat-length from the main. To this I will add, that there is scarce one island upon which I ever was, where the boltsprit was not over the land, while there were no soundings by a line heaved over the stern. I must then protest against making these old most erroneous maps a foundation for new ones, as they can be of no use, but must be of detriment. Many good seamen of knowledge and enterprise have been in that sea, within these few years. Let them say, candidly, what were their instruments, what their difficulties were, where they had

* This is a common sailor's phrase for the Straits of Babelmandel.

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doubts, where they succeeded, and where they were disappointed? Were these acknowledged by one, they would be speedily taken up by others, and rectified by the help of mathematicians, and good observers on shore.

Mr Niebuhr has contributed much, but we should reform the map on both sides; though there is a great deal done, yet much remains still to do. I hope that my friend Mr Dalrymple, when he can afford time, will give us a foundation more proper to build upon, than that old rotten one, however changed in form, and supposed to have been improved, if he really has a number of observations by him that can be relied on; otherwise it is but continuing the delusion and the danger.

If ships of war afterwards, that keep the channel, shall come, manned with stout and able seamen, and expert young officers, provided with lines, glasses, good compasses, and a number of boats, then we shall know these soundings, at least in part. And then also we shall know the truth of what I now advance, viz. that ships like those employed hitherto in trading from India (manned and provided as the best of them are) were incapable, amidst unknown tides and currents, and going before a monsoon, whether southern or northern, of knowing within three leagues where any one of them had ever dropt this sounding line, unless he was close on board some island, shoal, remarkable point, or in a harbour.

Till that time, I would advise every man sailing in the Red Sea, especially in the channel, where the pilots know no more than he, to trust to his own hands for safety in the minute of danger, to heave the lead at least every hour, keep a good look-out, and shorten sail in a fresh wind, or in the night-time, and to consider all maps of the channel of the Arabian Gulf, yet

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made, as matters of mere curiosity, and not fit to trust a man's life to. Any captain in the India service, who had run over from Jidda into the mouth of the river Frat, and the neighbouring port Kilfit, which might every year be done for ten pounds sterling, extra expences, would do more meritorious service to the navigation of that sea, than all the soundings that were ever yet made from Jibbel Zeker to the island of Sheduan.

From Yambo to Jidda I had slept little, making my memoranda as full upon the spot as possible. I had, besides, an agueish disorder, which very much troubled me, and in dress and cleanliness was so like a Galiongy (or Turkish seaman) that the Emir Bahar * was astonished at hearing my servants say I was an Englishman, at the time they carried away all my baggage and instruments to the custom-house. He sent his servant, however, with me to the Bengal-house, who promised me, in broken English, all the way, a very magnificent reception from my countrymen. Upon his naming all the captains for my choice, I desired to be carried to a Scotchman, a relation of my own, who was then accidentally leaning over the rail of the staircase, leading up to his apartment. I saluted him by his name; he fell into a violent rage, calling me villain, thief, cheat, and renegado rascal; and declared, if I offered to proceed a step further, he would throw me over stairs. I went away without reply; his curses and abuses followed me long afterwards. The servant, my conductor, screwed his mouth, and shrugged up his shoulders. "Never fear," says he, "I will carry you to the best of them all." We went up an opposite stair-case, whilst I thought within myself, if

* Captain of the port.

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those are their India manners, I shall keep my name and situation to myself while I am at Jidda. I stood in no need of them, as I had credit for 1000 sequins and more, if I should want it, upon Yousef Cabil, Vizir or Governor of Jidda.

I was conducted into a large room, where Captain Thornhill was sitting, in a white calico waistcoat, a very high pointed white cotton night-cap, with a large tumbler of water before him, seemingly very deep in thought. The Emir Bahar's servant brought me forward by the hand, a little within the door; but I was not desirous of advancing much farther, for fear of the salutation of being thrown down stairs again. He looked very steadily, but not sternly, at me; and desired the servant to go and shut the door.—"Sir," says he, "are you an Englishman?"—I bowed. "You surely are sick, you should be in your bed; have you been long sick?"—I said, "long, sir," and bowed. "Are you wanting a passage to India?"—I again bowed, "Well," says he, "you look to be a man in distress; if you have a secret, I shall respect it till you please to tell it me; but if you want a passage to India, apply to no one but Thornhill of the Bengal Merchant. Perhaps you are afraid of somebody; if so, ask for Mr Greig, my lieutenant, he will carry you on board my ship directly, where you will be safe." "Sir," said I, "I hope you will find me an honest man; I have no enemy that I know, either in Jidda or elsewhere, nor do I owe any man any thing." "I am sure," says he, "I am doing wrong, in keeping a poor man standing, who ought to be in his bed. Here! Philip! Philip!"—Philip appeared. "Boy," says he, in Portugueze, which, as I imagine, he supposed I did not understand, "here is a poor Englishman, that should be either in his bed or in his grave; carry him to the cook, tell him to give

him as much broth and mutton as he can eat; the fellow seems to have been starved, but I would rather have the feeding of ten to India, than the burying of one at Jidda."

Philip de la Cruz was the son of a Portuguese lady, whom Captain Thornhill had married; a boy of great talents, and excellent disposition, who carried me with great willingness to the cook. I made as awkward a bow as I could to Captain Thornhill, and said, "God will return this to your honour some day." Philip carried me into a court-yard, where they used to expose the samples of their India goods in large bales. It had a portico along the left hand side of it, which seemed designed for a stable. To this place I was introduced, and thither the cook brought me my dinner. Several of the English from the vessels, lascars, and others, came in to look at me; and I heard it, in general, agreed among them, that I was a very thief-like fellow, and certainly a Turk, and d—mn them if they should like to fall into my hands.

I fell fast asleep upon the mat, while Philip was ordering me another apartment. In the mean time, some of my people had followed the baggage to the custom-house, and some of them staid on board the boat, to prevent the pilfering of what was left. The keys had remained with me, and the Vizir had gone to sleep, as is usual, about mid-day. As soon as he awaked, being greedy of his prey, he fell immediately to my baggage, wondering that such a quantity of it, and that boxes in such a curious form, should belong to a mean man like me; he was therefore full of hopes, that a fine opportunity for pillage was now at hand. He asked for the keys of the trunks; my servant said they were with me, but he would go instantly and bring them. That, however, was too long to stay; no delay could possibly be granted. Accustomed to pilfer,

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they did not force the locks, but, very artist-like, took off the hinges at the back, and in that manner opened the lids, without opening the locks.

The first thing that presented itself to the Vizir's sight was the firman of the Grand Signior, magnificently written and titled, and the inscription powdered with gold dust, and wrapped in green taffeta. After this was a white satin bag, addressed to the Khan of Tartary, with which Mr Peyssonel, French consul at Smyrna, had favoured me, and which I had not delivered, as the Khan was then prisoner at Rhodes. The next was a green and gold silk bag, with letters directed to the Sheriffe of Mecca; and then came a plain crimson-satin bag, with letters addressed to Metical Aga, sword-bearer (or Selictar, as it is called) of the Sheriffe, or his chief minister and favourite. He then found a letter from Ali Bey to himself, written with all the superiority of a prince to a slave.

In this letter the Bey told him plainly, that he had heard the governments of Jidda, Mecca, and other states of the Sheriffe, were disorderly, and that merchants coming about their lawful business, were plundered, terrified, and detained. He therefore intimated to him, that if any such thing happened to me, he should not write or complain, but he would send and punish the affront at the very gates of Mecca. This was very unpleasant language to the Vizir, because it was now publickly known, that Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab was preparing next year to march against Mecca, for some offence the Bey had taken against the Sheriffe. There was also another letter to him from Ibrahim Sikakeen, chief of the merchants at Cairo, ordering him to furnish me with a thousand sequins for my present use, and, if more were needed, to take my bill.

These contents of the trunks were so unexpected,

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that Yousef, the Vizir, thought he had gone too far, and called my servant in a violent hurry, upbraiding him, for not telling who I was. The servant defended himself, by saying, that neither he, nor his people about him, would so much as regard a word that he had spoke; and that the cadi of Medina's principal servant, who had come with the wheat, told the Vizir plainly to his face, that he had given him warning enough, if his pride would have suffered him to hear it.

All was now wrong; my servant was ordered to nail up the hinges, but he declared it should be the last action of his life; that nobody opened baggage that way, but with an intention of stealing, when the keys could be got; and, as there were many rich things in the trunk, intended as presents to the Sheriffe, and Metical Aga, which might have been taken out, by the hinges being forced off before he came, he washed his hands of the whole procedure, but knew his master would complain, and loudly too, and would be heard both at Cairo and Jidda. The Vizir took his resolution in a moment like a man. He nailed up the baggage, ordered his horse to be brought, and, attended by a number of naked blackguards (whom they call soldiers), he came down to the Bengal house, at which the whole factory took alarm.

About twenty-six years before, the English traders from India to Jidda, fourteen in number, were all murdered, sitting at dinner, by a mutiny of these wild people. The house has, ever since, lain in ruins, having been pulled down and forbidden to be rebuilt.

Great inquiry was made after the English nobleman, whom nobody had seen; but it was said that one of his servants was there in the Bengal house; I was sitting drinking coffee on the mat, when the Vizir's horse came, and the whole court was filled. One

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of the clerks of the custom-house asked me "where my master was?" I said, "In Heaven." The Emir Bahar's servant now brought forward the Vizir to me, who had not dismounted himself. He repeated the same question, "where my master was?" I told him, I did not know the purport of his question; that I was the person to whom the baggage belonged, which he had taken to the custom-house, and that it was in my favour the Grand Signior and Bey had written. He seemed very much surprised, and asked me "how I could appear in such a dress?"—"You cannot ask that seriously," said I; "I believe no prudent man would dress better, considering the voyage I have made. But, besides, you did not leave it in my power, as every article, but what I have on me, has been these four hours at the custom-house, waiting your pleasure."

We then went all up to our kind landlord, Captain Thornhill, to whom I made my excuse, on account of the ill usage I had first met with from my own relation. He laughed very heartily at the narrative, and from that time we lived in the greatest friendship and confidence. All was made up, even with Yousef Cabil; and all heads were employed to get the strongest letters possible to the Naybe of Masuah, the king of Abyssinia, Michael Suhûl the minister, and the king of Sennaar.

Metical Aga, the great friend and protector of the English at Jidda, and, in effect, we may say, sold to them, for the great presents and profits he received, was himself originally an Abyssinian slave, was the man of confidence, and directed the sale of the king's and Michael's gold, ivory, civet, and such precious commodities, that are paid to them in kind; he furnished Michael, likewise, with returns in fire-arms; and these had enabled Michael to subdue Abyssinia,

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murder the king his master, and seat another on his throne.

On the other hand, the Naybe of Masuah, whose island belonged to the Grand Signior, and was an appendage of the government of the Basha of Jidda, had endeavoured to withdraw himself from his allegiance, and become independent. He paid no tribute, nor could the Basha, who had no troops, force him, as he was on the Abyssinian side of the Red Sea. Metical Aga, however, and the Basha, at last agreed; the latter ceded to the former the island and territory of Masuah, for a fixed sum annually; and Metical Aga appointed Michael, governor of Tigré, receiver of his rents. The Naybe no sooner found that he was to account to Michael, than he was glad to pay his tribute, and give presents into the bargain; for Tigré was the province from which he drew his sustenance, and Michael could have over-run his whole territory in eight days, which once, as we shall see hereafter, belonged to Abyssinia. Metical's power being then universally acknowledged and known, the next thing was to get him to make use of it in my favour.

We knew of how little avail the ordinary futile recommendations of letters were. We were veteran travellers, and knew the style of the East too well, to be duped by letters of mere civility. There is no people on the earth more perfectly polite in their correspondence with one another, than are those of the East; but their civility means little more than the same sort of expressions do in Europe, to shew you that the writer is a well-bred man. But this would by no means do in a journey so long, so dangerous, and so serious as mine.

We, therefore, set about procuring effective letters, letters of business and engagement, between man and man; and we all endeavoured to make Metical

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Aga, a very good man, but no great head-piece, comprehend this perfectly. My letters from Ali Bey opened the affair to him, and first commanded his attention. A very handsome present of pistols, which I brought him, inclined him in my favour, because, as I was bearer of letters from his superior, I might have declined bestowing any present upon him.

The English gentlemen joined their influence, powerful enough to have accomplished a much greater end, as every one of these have separate friends for their own affairs, and all of them were desirous to befriend me. Added to these was a friend of mine, whom I had known at Aleppo, Ali Zimzimiah, *i. e.* "keeper of the holy well at Mecca," a post of great dignity and honour. This man was a mathematician, and an astronomer, according to their degree of knowledge in that science.

All the letters were written in a style such as I could have desired, but this did not suffice in the mind of a very friendly and worthy man, who had taken an attachment to me since my first arrival. This was Captain Thomas Price, of the Lion of Bombay. He first proposed to Metical Aga, to send a man of his own with me, together with the letters; and I do firmly believe, under providence, it was to this last measure I owed my life. With this Captain Thornhill heartily concurred, and an Abyssinian, called Mahomet Gibberti * was appointed to go with particular letters besides those I carried myself, and to be an eye-witness of my reception there.

There was some time necessary for this man to make ready, and considerable part of the Arabian Gulf still remained for me to explore. I prepared, therefore, to set out from Jidda, after having made a considerable stay in it.

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* Gibberti is the epithet used to denote their faith, by the Abyssinian Mahometans.—E.

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Of all the new things I yet had seen, what most astonished me was the manner in which trade was carried on at this place. Nine ships were there from India; some of them worth, I suppose, L. 200,000. One merchant, a Turk, living at Mecca, thirty hours journey off, where no Christian dares go, whilst the whole country is open to the Turk for escape, offers to purchase the cargoes of four out of nine of these ships, himself; another, of the same cast, comes and says, he will buy none, unless he gets them all. The samples are shewn, and the cargoes of the whole nine ships are carried into the wildest part of Arabia, by men with whom one would not wish to trust himself alone in the field. This is not all; two India brokers come into the room to settle the price. One on the part of the India captain, the other on that of the buyer, the Turk. They are neither Mahometans nor Christians, but have credit with both. They sit down on the carpet, and take an India shawl, which they carry on their shoulder like a napkin, and spread it over their hands. They talk, in the mean time, indifferent conversation, of the arrival of ships from India, or of the news of the day, as if they were employed in no serious business whatever. After about twenty minutes spent in handling each others fingers below the shawl, the bargain is concluded, say for nine ships, without one word ever having been spoken on the subject, or pen or ink used in any shape whatever. There never was one instance of a dispute happening in these sales.

But this is not yet all; the money is to be paid. A private Moor, who has nothing to support him but his character, becomes responsible for the payment of these cargoes; his name was Ibrahim Saraf when I was there, *i. e.* Ibrahim the Broker. This man delivers a number of coarse hempen bags, full of what is supposed to be money. He marks the

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contents upon the bag, and puts his seal upon the string that ties the mouth of it. This is received for what is marked upon it, without any one ever having opened one of the bags, and, in India, it is curreent for the value marked upon it, as long as the bag lasts.

Jidda is very unwholesome, as is, indeed, all the east coast of the Red Sea. Immediately without the gate of that town, to the eastward, is a desert plain filled with the huts of the Bedowèens *, or country Arabs, built of long bundles of spartum, or bent grass, put together like fascines. These Bedowèens supply Jidda with milk and butter. There is no stirring out of town, even for a walk, unless for about half a mile, in the south side by the sea, where there is a number of stinking pools of stagnant water, which contributes to make the town very unwholesome.

Jidda, besides being in the most unwholesome part of Arabia, is, at the same time, in the most barren and desert situation. This, and many other inconveniencies, under which it labours, would, probably, have occasioned its being abandoned altogether, were it not for its vicinity to Mecca, and the great and sudden influx of wealth from the India trade, which, once a-year, arrives in this part, but does not continue, passing on, as through a turnpike, to Mecca; whence it is dispersed all over the east. Very little advantage however accrues to Jidda. The customs are all immediately sent to a needy sovereign, and his hungry set of relations, dependents, and ministers at Mecca. The gold is returned in bags and boxes, passes on as rapidly to the ships, as the goods do to the market, and leaves as little profit behind. In the mean time, provisions rise to a prodigious price, and this falls upon

* Bed means a desert plain country: Bedoui, in the plural, Bedowin, its inhabitants.—E.

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the townsmen, while all the profit of the traffic is in the hands of strangers; most of whom, after the market is over, (which does not last six weeks) retire to Yemen, and other neighbouring countries, which abound in every sort of provision.

Upon this is founded the observation, that of all Mahometan countries none are so monogam as those of Jidda, and no where are there so many unmarried women, although this is the country of their prophet, and the permission of marrying four wives was allowed in this district, in the first instance, and afterwards communicated to all the tribes.

But Mahomet, in his permission of a plurality of wives, seems constantly to have been on his guard, against suffering that, which was intended for the welfare of his people, to operate in a different manner. He did not permit a man to marry two, three, or four wives, unless he could maintain them. He was interested for the rights and rank of these women; and the man, so marrying, was obliged to shew before the Cadi, or some equivalent judge, that it was in his power to support them, according to their birth. It was not so with concubines, with women who were purchased, or who were taken in war. Every man enjoyed these at his pleasure, and their peril; that is, whether he was able to maintain them or not.

From this great scarcity of provisions, which is the result of an extraordinary concourse to a place almost destitute of the necessaries of life, few inhabitants of Jidda can avail themselves of the privilege granted them by Mahomet. They therefore cannot marry more than one wife, because they cannot maintain more; and from this cause arises the want of people, and the large number of unmarried women.

But in Arabia Felix, where every sort of provision is exceedingly cheap, where the fruits of the ground,

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the general food of man, are produced spontaneously, the supporting of a number of wives costs no more than of as many slaves or servants; their food is the same, and a blue cotton shirt, a habit common to them all, is not more chargeable for the one than the other. The consequence is, that celibacy in women is prevented, and the number of people is increased in a fourfold ratio by polygamy, to what it is in those that are monogamous.

I know there are authors, fond of system, enemies to free inquiry, and blinded by prejudice, who contend that polygamy, without distinction of circumstances, is detrimental to the population of a country. The learned Dr Arbuthnot, in a paper addressed to the Royal Society *, has maintained this strange doctrine, in a still stranger manner. He lays it down, as his first position, than *in semine masculino* of our first parent Adam, there was impressed an original necessity of procreating, ever after, an equal number of males and females. The manner he proves this, has received great incense from the vulgar, as containing an unanswerable argument. He shews, by the casting of three dice, that the chances are almost infinite, that an equal number of males and females should *not* be born in any year; and he pretends to prove, that every year in twenty, as taken from the bills of mortality, the same number of males and females have constantly been produced, or at least a greater proportion of men than of women, to make up the havock occasioned by war, murder, drunkenness, and all species of violence to which women are not subject.

I need not say, that this, at least, sufficiently shews

* Philosoph. Transact. Vol. xxvii. p. 186.

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the weakness of the argument. For, if the *equal* proportion had been *in semine masculino* of our first parent, the consequence must have been, that male and female would have been invariably born, from the creation to the end of all things. And it is a supposition very unworthy of the wisdom of God, that, at the creation of man, he could make an allowance for any deviation that was to happen, from crimes, against the commission of which his positive precepts ran. Weak as this is, it is not the weakest part of this artificial argument, which, like the web of a spider too finely woven, whatever part you touch it on, the whole falls to pieces.

After taking it for granted, that he has proved the equality of the two sexes in number, from the bills of mortality in London, he next supposes, as a consequence, that all the world is in the same predicament; that is, that an equal number of males and females is produced every where. Why Dr Arbuthnot, an eminent physician, (which surely implies an informed naturalist) should imagine that this inference would hold, is what I am not able to account for. He should know, let us say, in the countries of the east, that fruits, flowers, trees, birds, fish, every blade of grass, are commonly different, and that man, in his appearance, diet, exercise, pleasure, government, and religion, is as widely different; why he should found the issue of an Asiatic, however, upon the bills of mortality in London, is to the full as absurd as to assert, that they do not wear either beard or whiskers in Syria, because that is not the case in London.

I am well aware, that it may be urged by those who permit themselves to say every thing, because they are not at pains to consider any thing, that the course of my argument will lead to a defence of polygamy in

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general, the supposed doctrine of the Thelypthora *. Such reflections as these, unless introduced for merriment, are below my animadversion; all I shall say on that topic is, that they who find encouragement to polygamy in Mr Madan's book, the Thelypthora, have read it with a much more acute perception, than, perhaps, I have done; and I shall be very much mistaken, if polygamy increases in England upon the principles laid down in the Thelypthora.

England, says Dr Arbuthnot, enjoys an equality of both sexes, and, if it is not so, the inequality is so imperceptible, that no inconvenience has yet followed. What we have now to inquire is, Whether other nations, or the majority of them, are in the same situation? For, if we are to decide by this, and if we should happen to find, that, in other countries, there are invariably born three women to one man, the conclusion, in regard to that country, must be, that three women to one man was the proportion of one sex to the other, impressed at the creation *in semine* of our first parent.

I confess I am not fond of meddling with the globe *before* the *deluge*. But as learned men seem inclined to think that Ararat and Euphrates are the mountain and river of antedeluvian times, and that Mesopotamia, or Diarbekir, is the ancient situation of the terrestrial paradise, I cannot give Dr Arbuthnot's argument fairer play, than to transport myself thither; and, in the same spot where the necessity was imposed of male and female being produced in equal numbers, inquire how that case stands now. The pretence that climates and times may have changed the proportion,

* A late publication of Dr Madan's, little understood, as it would seem.

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cannot be admitted, since it has been taken for granted, that it exists in the bills of mortality in London, and governs them to this day; and, since it was founded on necessity, which must be eternal.

Now, from a diligent inquiry into the south, and scripture-part of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria, from Mousul (or Nineveh) to Aleppo and Antioch, I find the proportion to be fully two women born to one man. There is, indeed, a fraction over, but not a considerable one. From Latikea, Laodicea ad mare, down the coast of Syria to Sidon, the number is very nearly three, or two and three-fourths, to one man. Through the Holy Land, the country called Horan, in the Isthmus of Suez, and the parts of the Delta, unfrequented by strangers, it is something less than three. But, from Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel, which contains the three Arabias, the portion is fully four women to one man, which, I have reason to believe, holds as far as the Line, and 30° beyond it.

The Imam of Sanaâ * was not an old man when I was in Arabia Felix in 1769; but he had 88 children then alive, of whom 14 only were sons. The priest of the Nile had 70 and odd children; of whom, as I remember, above fifty were daughters.

It may be objected, that Dr Arbuthnot, in quoting the bills of mortality for twenty years, gave most unexceptionable grounds for his opinion, and that my single assertion of what happens in a foreign country, without further foundation, cannot be admitted as equivalent testimony; and I am ready to admit this objection, as bills of mortality there are none in any of these countries. I shall therefore say in what man-

* Sovereign of Arabia Felix, whose capital is Sanaâ.

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ner I obtained the knowledge which I have just mentioned. Whenever I went into a town, village, or inhabited place, or travelled journies with any set of people, I always made it my business to inquire how many children they, or their fathers, their next neighbours, or acquaintance had. This not being a captious question, or what any one would scruple to answer, there was no interest to deceive; and if it had been possible, that two or three had been so wrong-headed among the whole, it would have been of little consequence.

I then asked my landlord at Sidon, (suppose him a weaver), how many children he has had? He tells me how many sons, and how many daughters. The next I ask is a smith, a tailor, a silk-gatherer, the Cadi of the place, a cow-herd, a hunter, a fisher, in short every man that is not a stranger, from whom I can get proper information. I say, therefore, that a medium of both sexes, arising from three or four hundred families indiscriminately taken, must be the proportion in which one differs from the other; and this, I am confident, will give the result to be three women to one man, in 50° out of the 90°, under every meridian of the globe *.

Without giving Mahomet all the credit for abilites that some have done, we may surely suppose him to have known what happened in his own family, where he must have seen this great disproportion of four women born to one man; and from the obvious consequences, we are not to wonder that one of his first cares, when a legislator, was to rectify it, as it struck at the very root of his empire, power, and religion. With this view, he enacted, or rather confirmed, the law which gave liberty to every individual to marry four

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* Several of these data, with remarks on them, are found among Mr Bruce's memoranda. Pocket-book, No. 2.—E.

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wives; each of whom was to be equal in rank and honour, without any preference but what the predilection of her husband gave her. By this he secured civil rights to each woman, and procured a means of doing away that reproach, of *dying without issue*, to which the minds of the whole sex have always been sensible, whatever their religion was, or from whatever part of the world they came.

Many, who are not conversant with Arabian history, have imagined, that this permission of a plurality of wives was given in favour of men, and have taxed one of the most political, necessary measures, of that legislator, arising from motives merely civil, with a tendency to encourage lewdness, from which it was very far distant. But, if they had considered that the Mahometan law allows divorce without any cause assigned, and that, every day, at the pleasure of the man; besides, that it permits him as many concubines as he can maintain, buy with money, take in war, or gain by the ordinary means of address and solicitations, they will think such a man was before sufficiently provided, and that there was not the least reason for allowing him to marry four wives at a time, when he was already at liberty to marry a new one every day.

Dr Arbuthnot lays it down as a self evident position, that four women will have more children by four men, than the same four women would have by one. This assertion may very well be disputed, but still it is not in point. For the question with regard to Arabia, and to a great part of the world besides, is, Whether or not four women and one man, married, or cohabiting at discretion, shall produce more children, than four women and one man who is debarred from cohabiting with any but one of the four, the others dying unmarried without the knowledge of man? or, in other words, "Which shall have most

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children, one man and one woman, or one man and four women?" This question, I think, needs no discussion.

Let us now consider, if there is any further reason why England should not be brought as an example, which Arabia, or the east, in general, are to follow.

Women in England are commonly capable of child-bearing at fourteen; let the other term be forty-eight, when they bear no more; thirty-four years, therefore, an English woman bears children. At the age of fourteen, or fifteen, they are objects of our love; they are endeared by bearing us children after that time, and none, I hope, will pretend, that, at forty-eight and fifty, an English woman is not an agreeable companion. Perhaps, the last years, to thinking minds, are fully more agreeable than the first. We grow old together, we have a near prospect of our dying together; nothing can present a more agreeable picture of social life, than monogamy in England.

The Arab, on the other hand, if she begins to bear children at eleven, seldom, or never, has a child * after twenty. The time, then, of her child bearing is nine years; and four women, taken altogether, have then the term of thirty-six. So, that the English wo-

* This fact is as singular as true, and well deserves the attention of naturalists. Women in Arabia, India, and, perhaps, in other warm climates, enjoy only an abridgement of life, compared with those of Europe. The ordinary period of decease, in these cases, in not recorded; but there is reason to suspect that this disproportion, in the best period of life between the sexes, arises from art, not from nature. In the east very imprudent methods are adopted in the education of children. A fact mentioned in Genesis, ch. xviii. v. 11. seems obscurely to indicate that the Arab women, in ancient times, were not exposed to old age so soon as at present. Sarah lived 120 years. The birth of Isaac was miraculous; but it is not probable that she would have lived so long had she been *old* at twenty.

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man, that bears children for thirty-four years, has only two years less than the term enjoyed by the four wives whom Mahomet has allowed; and if it be granted an English wife may bear at fifty, the terms are equal.

But there are other grievous differences. An Arabian girl, at eleven years old, by her youth and beauty, is the object of man's desire; being an infant, however, in understanding, she is not a rational companion for him. A man marries there, say at twenty, and before he is thirty, his wife, improved as a companion, ceases to be an object of his desires, and a mother of children; so that all the best, and most vigorous of his days, are spent with a woman he cannot love, and with her he would be destined to live forty, or forty-five years, without comfort to himself by increase of family, or utility to the public.

The reasons, then, against polygamy, which subsist in England, do not by any means subsist in Arabia; and that being the case, it would be unworthy of the wisdom of God, and an unevenness in his ways, which we never see, to subject two nations, under such different circumstances, absolutely to the same observances.

I consider the prophecy concerning Ishmael, and his descendants the Arabs, as one of the most extraordinary that we meet with in the Old Testament. It was also one of the earliest made, and proceeded upon grounds of private reparation. Hagar had not sinned, though she had fled for self-preservation from the face of Sarah with Ishmael, her son, into the wilderness. In that desert, the desert of Paran, there were then no inhabitants, and though Ishmael's* succession

* Gen. xv. 18.

was incompatible with God's promise to Abraham and his son Isaac, yet neither Hagar nor he having sinned, justice required a reparation for the heritage which he had lost, without any fault of his own.—God gave him that very wilderness which before was the property of no man, in which Ishmael was to erect a kingdom under the most improbable circumstances possible to be imagined. His hand * was to be against every man, and every man's hand against him. By his sword he was to live, and pitch his tent in the face of his brethren. That is, he was to be totally unprovided with any allies, friends, or assistance, even that of his brethren. God, we know, so as not to doubt, from the stones of the desert could have raised up seed to Abraham, independent of any promise he had made to Ishmael. We likewise know, however all-powerful God may be, it has been uniformly his practice, throughout the whole creation of the universe, to adopt the means of least force, or which deviate least from the common way of his providence. There is nothing so most obviously true, throughout all the works of God than this.

Never has prophecy been so completely fulfilled as this, and yet without any assistance of miracle, without even having altered the manners of man in that country, by the simple continuation of the antient practice of polygamy, without any innovation whatsoever. It has subsisted from the earliest ages; it was verified before the time of Moses; it subsisted in the days of David and Solomon; in the time of Alexander and that of Augustus Cæsar; it was continued in the time of Justinian; all very distant, unconnected periods; and

* Gen. xvi. 12.

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I appeal to the evidence of mankind, if, without apparent support, or necessity, but what it has derived from God's promise only, it be not in full vigour at this very day, and as likely to endure by this means for ever, as any other nation not fortified by any divine promise, or prediction. This prophecy alone, in the truth of which all sorts of religions agree, is, therefore, of itself, a sufficient proof, without any other, of the Divine authority of the Scripture *.

Mahomet prohibited all pork and wine; two articles which must have been before very little used in Arabia. Grapes, here, grow in the mountains of Yemen, but never arrive at maturity enough for wine. They bring them down for the purpose to Loheia, and there the heat of the climate turns the wine sour before they can clear it of its fæces, so as to make it drinkable; and we know, that before the appearance of Mahomet, Arabia was never a wine country. As for swine, I never heard of them in the peninsula of Arabia, (unless, perhaps, wild in the woods about Sannaâ,) and it was from early times inhabited by Jews before the coming of Mahomet. The only people, therefore, that ate swine's flesh, must have been Christians, and they were a sect of little account. Many of these, moreover, do not eat pork yet, but all of them were oppressed and despised everywhere, and there was no inducement for any other people to imitate them.

Mahomet, then, prohibiting only what was merely neutral, or indifferent, to the Arabs, indulged them in that to which he knew they were prone.

At the several conversations I had with the English

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* The divine authority of the Scriptures is not proved by this fulfilment. For other tribes, for instance the *Beni Joctan*, have lived, live, and will live till the end, exactly like the Ishmaelites, in the Arabian desert, *from the physical nature of the place.*—E.

merchants at Jidda, they complained grievously of the manner in which they were oppressed by the sheriffe of Mecca and his officers. The duties and fees were increased every voyage; their privileges all taken away, and a most destructive measure introduced of forcing them to give presents, which was only an inducement to oppress, that the gift might be the greater. I asked them, if I could obtain from the Bey of Cairo permission for their ships to come down to Suez, whether there were merchants in India who would venture to undertake that voyage? Captain Thornhill promised, for his part, that the very season after such permission should arrive in India, he would dispatch his ship, the Bengal Merchant, under command of his mate, Captain Greig, to whose capacity and worth all his countrymen bore very ready testimony, and of which I myself had formed a very good opinion, from the several conversations we had together. This scheme was concerted between me and Captain Thornhill only; and, though it must be confessed it had the appearance of an airy one, (since it was not to be attempted, till I had returned through Abyssinia and Nubia, against which there were many thousand chances,) it was executed, notwithstanding, in the very manner in which they had been planned, as will be after stated.

The kindness and attention of my countrymen did not leave me as long as I was on shore. They all did me the honour to attend me to the water edge. If others have experienced pride aud presumption, from gentlemen of the East Indies, I was most happily exempted from the appearance of it at Jidda. Happy it would have been for me, if I had been more neglected.

All the quay of Jidda was lined with people to see the English salute, and along with my vessel there departed, at the same time, one bound to Masuah, which

carried Mahomet Abd-el-cader, governor of Dahalac, over to his government. Dahalac * is a large island, depending upon Masuah, but which has a separate firman, or commission, renewed every two years. This man was a Moor, a servant of the Naybe of Masuah, and he had been at Jidda to procure his firman from Metical Aga, while Mahomet Gibberti was to come with me, and was to bring it to the Naybe.—This Abd-el-cader no sooner was arrived at Masuah, than, following the turn of his country for lying, he spread a report, that a great man, or prince, whom he left at Jidda, was coming speedily to Masuah; that he had brought great presents to the Sheriffe and Metical Aga; that; in return, he had received a large sum in gold from the Sheriffe's Vizir, Yousef Cabil; besides as much as he pleased from the English, who had done nothing but feast and regale him for the several months he had been at Jidda; and that, when he departed, as this great man was now going to visit the Imam in Arabia Felix, all the English ships hoisted their colours, and fired their cannon from morning to night, for three days successively, which was two days after he had sailed, and therefore what he could not possibly have seen. The consequence of all this was, the Naybe of Masuah expected that a man with immense treasures was coming to put himself into his hands. I look, therefore, upon the danger I escaped there, as superior to all those put together, that I have ever been exposed to: of such material and bad consequence is the most contemptible of all weapons, the tongue of a liar, and a fool!

Jidda is in lat. 21° 28′ 1″ north, and in long. 39° 16′ 45″ east of the meridian of Greenwich. Our weather there had few changes. The general wind

* The Island of the Shepherds.

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wind was north-west, or more northerly. This, blowing along the direction of the Gulf, brought a great deal of damp along with it; and this damp increases as the season advances. Once in twelve or fourteen days, perhaps, we had a south wind, which was always dry. The highest degree of the barometer at Jidda, on the 5th of June, wind north, was 26° 6′, and the lowest, on the 17th of the same month, wind north-west, was 25° 7′ The highest degree of the thermometer was 97° on the 12th of July, wind north, the lowest was 78°, wind north.

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CHAP. XII.

Sails from Jidda—Komfodah—Ras Heli boundary of Arabia Felix—Arrives at Loheia—Proceeds to the Straits of the Indian Ocean—Arrives there—Returns by Azab to Loheia.

It was on the 8th of July 1769, I sailed from the harbour of Jidda on board the same vessel as before, and I suffered the Rais to take a small loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no passengers. The wind was fair, and we sailed through the English fleet at their anchors. As they all honoured me with their regret at parting, and accompanied me to the shore, the Rais was surprised to see the respect paid to his little vessel as it passed under their huge sterns, every one hoisting his colours, and saluting it with eleven guns, except the ship belonging to my Scotch friend, who shewed his colours, indeed, but did not fire a gun, only standing upon deck, he cried with a trumpet, "Captain —— wishes Mr Bruce a good voyage." I stood upon deck, took my trumpet, and answered, "Mr Bruce wishes Captain —— a perfect return of his understanding;" a wish, poor man, that has not yet been accomplished, and very much to my regret, it does not appear probable that ever it will. That night having passed a cluster

of shoals, called the shoals of Safia, we anchored in a small bay, Mersa Gedan, about twelve leagues from the harbour of Jidda.

The 9th of July, we passed another small road, called Goofs, and, at a quarter past nine, Raghwan east north-east two miles, and, at a quarter past ten, the small port of Sodi, bearing east north-east at the same distance. At one and three quarters, we passed Markat, two miles distant north-east by east; and a rock called Numan, two miles distant to the south-west. After this the mountain of Somma, aud at a quarter past six, we anchored in a small unsafe harbour, called Mersa Brahim, of which we had seen a very rough and incorrect design in the hands of the gentlemen at Jidda. I have endeavoured, with that draught before me, to correct it so far that it may now be depended upon.

The 10th, we sailed, at five o'clock in the morning, with little wind, our wind south and by west; I suppose we were then going something less than two knots an hour. At half after seven we passed the island Abeled, and two other small mountains that bore about a league south-west and by west of us. The wind freshened as it approached mid-day, so that at one o'clock we went full three knots an hour, being obliged to change our course according to the lying of the islands. It came to be about south south-east in the end of the day.

At a quarter after one, we passed Ras el Askar, meaning the Cape of the Soldiers, or of the Army. Here we saw some trees, and, at a considerable distance within the main, mountains to the north-east of us. At two o'clock we passed in the middle channel, between five sandy islands, all covered with kelp, three on the east, or right-hand, and two on the west. They are called Ginnan el Abiad, or the White Gar-

dens, I suppose from the green herb growing upon the white sand. At half after two, with the same wind, we passed an island bearing east from us, the main about a league distant. At three, we passed close to an island bearing south-west of us, about a mile off. It is of a moderate height, and is called Jibbel Surreine. At half past four, our course was south-east and by south; we passed two islands to the south-east of us, at two miles, and a smaller, west south-west, a quarter of a mile distant. From this to the main will be about five miles, or something more. At fifty minutes after four, came up to the island, which reached to Konfodah. We saw to the west, and west south-west of us, different small islands, not more than half a mile distant. We heaved the line, and had no soundings at thirty-two fathom, yet, if any where, I thought there we were to find shoal waters. At five o'clock, our course being south-east, and by south, we passed an island a quarter of a mile to the west of us, and afterwards a number of others in a row; and, at half past eight, we arrived at an anchoring place, but which cannot be called a harbour, named Mersa Hadou.

The 11th, we left Mersa Hadou at four o'clock in the morning. Being calm, we made little way; our course was south south-east, which changed to a little more easterly. At six, we tacked to stand in for Konfodah harbour, which is very remarkable for a high mountain behind it, whose top is terminated by a pyramid, or cone, of very regular proportion. There was no wind to carry us in; we hoisted out the boat which I had bought at Jidda for my pleasure and safety, intending it to be a present to my Rais at parting, as he very well knew. At a quarter past eight, we were towed to our anchorage in the harbour of Konfodah.

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Konfodah means the town of the hedge-hog *. It is a small village, consisting of about two hundred miserable houses, built with green wood, and covered with mats, made of the doom, or palm-tree, lying on a bay, or rather a shallow bason, in a desert waste or plain. Behind the town are small hillocks of white sand. Nothing grows on shore excepting kelp, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and very luxuriant; farther in there are gardens. Fish is in perfect plenty; butter and milk in great abundance; even the desert looks fresher than other deserts, which made me imagine that rain fell sometimes here; and this the Emir told me was the case.

Although I made a draught of the port, it is not worth the publishing. For though, in all probability, it was once deep, safe, and convenient, yet there is nothing now but a kind of road, under shelter of a point, or ridge of land, which rounds out into the sea, and ends in a cape, called Ras Mozeffa. Behind the town there is another small cape, upon which there are three guns mounted, but with what intention it was not possible to guess.

The Emir Ferhan, governor of the town, was an Abyssinian slave, who invited me on shore, and we dined together on very excellent provision, dressed according to their custom. He said the country near the shore was desert; but a little within land, or where the roots and gravel had fixed the sand, the soil produced every thing, especially if they had any showers of rain. It was so long since I had heard mention of a shower of rain, that I could not help laughing; and he seemed to think that he had said something wrong, and begged so politely to know what I laughed at,

* Or Porcupine.

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that I was obliged to confess. "The reason," said I, "sir, is an absurd one. What passed in my mind at that time was, that I had travelled about two thousand miles, and above twelve months, and had neither seen nor heard of a shower of rain till now; and though you will perceive, by my conversation, that I understand your language well, for a stranger, yet I declare to you, the moment you spoke it, had you asked, what was the Arabic for a shower of rain, I could not have told you. I declare to you, upon my word, it was that which I laughed at, and upon no other account whatever." "You are going," says he, "to countries where you will have rain and wind sufficiently cold, and where the water in the mountains is harder than the dry land, and people stand upon it *. We have only the remnant of their showers, and it is to that we owe our greatest happiness."

I was very much pleased with his conversation. He seemed to be near fifty years of age, was exceedingly well-dressed, had neither gun nor pistol about him, nor even a knife, nor an Arab servant armed, though they were all well-dressed; but he had in his courtyard about threescore of the finest horses I had for a long time seen. We dined just opposite to them, in a small saloon strowed with India carpets; the walls were covered with white tiles, which I suppose he had got from India; yet his house without was a very common one, distinguished only from the rest in the village by its size.

He seemed to have a more rational knowledge of things, and spoke more elegantly that any man I had

* Yemen, or the high land of Arabia Felix, where water freezes.

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conversed with in Arabia. He said he had lost the only seven sons he had, in one month, by the small-pox: And when I attempted to go away, he wished I would stay with him some time, and said that I had better take up my lodgings at his house, than go on board the boat that night, where I was not perfectly in safety. On my seeming surprised at this, he told me, that last year, a vessel from Mascatte, on the Indian Ocean, had quarrelled with his people; that they had fought on the shore, and several of the crew had been killed; that they had obstinately cruized in the neighbourhood, in hopes of reprisals, till, by the change of the monsoon, they had lost their passage home, and so were necessarily confined to the Red Sea for six months afterwards; he added, they had four guns, which they called patareroes, and that they would certainly cut us off, as they could not miss to fall in with us. This was the very worst news that I had ever heard, as to what might happen at sea. Before this, we thought all strangers were our friends, and only feared the natives of the coast as enemies; now, upon a bare, defenceless shore, we found ourselves likely to be a prey to both natives and strangers.

Our Rais, above all, was seized with a panic; his country was just adjoining to Mascatte upon the Indian Ocean, and they were generally at war. He said he knew well who they were; that there was no country kept in better order than Mascatte, but that these were a set of pirates belonging to the Bahareen; that their vessels were stout, full of men, who carried incense to Jidda, and up as far as Madagascar; that they feared no man, and loved no man, only were true to their employers for the time. He imagined (I suppose it was but imagination) that he had seen a vessel in the morning (a lug-sail vessel, as the pirate was described to be), and it was with difficulty we could

prevail on him not to sail back to Jidda. I took my leave of the Emir to return to my tent, to hold a consultation what was to be done.

Konfodah is in lat. 19° 7′ north. It is one of the most unwholesome parts on the Red Sea, provision is very dear and bad, and the water (contrary to what the Emir had told me) execrable. Goats flesh is the only meat, and that very dear and lean. The anchorage, from the castle, bears north-west a quarter of a mile distant, from ten to seven fathoms, in sand and mud.

On the 14th, our Rais, more afraid of dying by a fever than by the hands of the pirates, consented willingly to put to sea. The Emir's good dinners had not extended to the boat's crew, and they had been upon short commons. The Rais's fever had returned since he left Jidda; and I gave him some doses of bark, after which he soon recovered. But he was always complaining of hunger, which the black flesh of an old goat, the Emir had given us, did not satisfy.

We sailed at six o'clock in the morning, having first, by way of precaution, thrown all our ballast over-board, that we might run into shoal water upon the appearance of the enemy. We kept a good look-out toward the horizon all around us, especially when we sailed in the morning. I observed we became all fearless, and bold, about noon; but, towards night, the panic again seized us, like children that are afraid of ghosts; though at that time we might have been sure that all stranger vessels were at anchor.

We had little wind, and passed between various rocks to the westward, continuing our course S. S. E. nearly, somewhat more easterly, and about three miles distant from the shore. At four o'clock noon, we passed Jibbel Sabeia, a sandy island, larger than the

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rest, but no higher. To this island the Arabs of Ras Heli send their wives and children in time of war; none of the rest are inhabited. At five we passed Ras Heli, which is the boundary between Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the Hejaz *, or province of Mecca: the first belonging to the Imam, or king of Sanaâ; the other to the Sherriffe lately spoken of.

I desired my Rais to anchor this night close under the Cape, as it was perfectly calm and clear, and, by taking a mean of five observations of the passage of so many stars, the most proper for the purpose, over the meridian, I determined the latitude of Ras Heli, and, consequently, the boundary of the two states, Hejaz and Yemen, or Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, to be 18° 36′ north.

The mountains reach here nearer to the sea. We anchored a mile from the shore in 15 fathoms; the banks were sand and coral: from this the coast is better inhabited. The principal Arabs to which the country belongs, are Cotrushi, Sebahi, Helali, Mauchlota, and Menjahi. These are not Arabs by origin, but came from the opposite coast near Azab, and were shepherds, who were stubborn enemies to Mahomet, but at last converted: they are black, and woolly-headed. The mountains and small islands on the coast, farther in to the eastward, are in possession of the Habib. These are white in colour, rebellious, or independent Arabs, who pay no sort of obedience to the Imam, or the Sheriffe of Mecca, but occasionally plunder the towns on the coast.

All the sandy desert at the foot of the mountains is called Tehama, which extends to Mocha. But in the maps it is marked as a separate country from Arabia

* Arabia Deserta.

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Felix; whereas it is but the low part, or sea-coast of it, and is not a separate jurisdiction. It is called Tema in Scripture, and derives its name from Taami in Arabic, which signifies the sea-coast. There is little water here, as it never rains; there is also no animal but the gazel, or antelope, and but few of them. There are few birds, and those which may be found are generally mute.

The 15th, we sailed with little wind, coasting along the shore, sometimes at two miles distance, and often less. The mountains now seemed high. I sounded several times, and found no ground at thirty fathoms, within a mile of the shore. We passed several ports or harbours; first Mersa Amec, where there is good anchorage in eleven fathom of water, a mile and a half from the shore; at eight o'clock, Nohoude, with an island of the same name; at ten, a harbour and village called Dahaban. As the sky was quite overcast, I could get no observation, though I watched very attentively. Dahaban is a large village, where there is both water and provision; but I did not see its harbour. It bore E. N. E. of us, about three miles distant. At three quarters past eleven we came up to a high rock, called Kotumbal, and I lay to for observation. It is of a dark brown, approaching to red; is about two miles from the Arabian shore, and produces nothing. I found its latitude to be 17° 57′ north. A small rock stands up at one end of the base of the mountain.

We came to an anchor in the port of Sibt, where I went ashore, under pretence of seeking provisions, but, in reality, to see the country, and observe what sort of people the inhabitants were. The mountains from Kotumbal ran in an even chain along the coast, at no great distance, but of such a height, that as yet we had seen nothing like them. Sibt is too mean, and

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too small to be called a village, even in Arabia. It consists of above fifteen or twenty miserable huts, built of straw; around it there is a plantation of doom-trees, of the leaves of which they make mats and sails, which is the whole manufacture of the place.

Our Rais made many purchases here. The Co-trushi, the inhabitants of this village, seem to be as brutish a people as any in the world. They are perfectly lean, but muscular, and apparently strong; they wear all their own hair, which they divide upon the crown of their head. It is black and bushy, and, although sufficiently long, seems to partake of the woolly quality of the Negro. Their head is bound round with a cord or fillet of the doom-leaf, like the ancient diadem*. The women are generally ill-favoured, and go naked like the men. Those that are married have, for the most part, a rag about their middle, some of them not that. Girls of all ages go quite naked, but seem not to be conscious of any impropriety in their appearance. Their lips, eye-brows, and foreheads above the eye-brow, are all marked with stibium, or antimony, the common ornament of savages throughout the world. They seemed to be perfectly on an equality with the men, walked, sat, and smoked with them, contrary to the practice of all women among the Turks and Arabs.

We found no provisions at Sibt, and the water very bad. We returned on board our vessel at sun-set, and anchored in eleven fathom, little less than a mile from the shore. About eight o'clock, two girls, not fifteen, swam off from the shore, and came on board. They wanted stibium for their eye-brows. As they had laboured so hard for it, I gave them a small quan-

* In Mr Bruce's port-folio, amongst other drawings, is a pencilled sketch of one of these savages.—E.

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tity, which they tied in a rag about their neck. I had killed three sharks this day: one of them, very large, was lying on the deck. I asked them, if they were not afraid of that fish? They said, they knew it, but it would not hurt them, and desired us to eat it; for it was good, and made men strong. There appeared no symptoms of jealousy among them. The harbour of Sibt is of a semicircular form, screened between N. N. E. and S. S. W.; but to the south, and south-west it is exposed; and therefore is good only in summer.

The 16th, at five in the morning, we sailed from the port of Sibt, but, the wind being contrary, were obliged to steer to the W. S. W. and it was not till nine o'clock we could resume our true course, which was south east. At half past four in the afternoon the main-land bore seven miles east, when we passed an island a quarter of a mile in length, called Jibbel Foran, the Mountain of Mice. It is of a rocky quality, with some trees on the south end; thence it rises insensibly, and ends in a precipice on the north. At six we passed the island * Deregé, low and covered with grass, but round like a shield, which is the reason of its name. At half past six Ras Tarfa bore E. S. E. of us, distant about two miles; and at three quarters after six we passed several other islands, the largest of which is called Saraffer. It is covered with grass, has small trees upon it, and probably therefore water, but is uninhabited. At nine in the evening we anchored before Djezan.

Djezan is in lat. 16° 45′ north, situated on a cape, which forms one side of a large bay. It is built, as are all the towns on the coast, with straw and mud.

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* Deregé, from that word in Hebrew.

It was once a very considerable place for trade; but since coffee hath been so much in demand, of which they have none, that commerce is moved to Loheia and Hodeida. It is an usurpation from the territory of the Imam, by a Sherriffe of the family of Beni Hassan, called Booarish. The inhabitants are all Sherriffes; in other terms, troublesome, ignorant fanatics. Djezan is one of the towns most subject to fevers. The farenteit *, or worm, is very frequent here. They have great abundance of excellent fish, and fruit in plenty, which is brought from the mountains, whence also they are supplied with very good water.

The 17th, in the evening, we sailed from Djezan; in the night we passed several small villages, called Dueime, which I found to be in lat. 16° 12′ 5″ north. In the morning, being three miles distant from the shore, we passed Cape Cosserah, which forms the north side of a large gulf. The mountains here are at no great distance, but they are not high. The whole country seems perfectly bare and desert, without inhabitants. It is reported to be the most unwholesome part of Arabia Felix.

On the 18th, at seven in the morning, we first discovered the mountains, under which lies the town of Loheia. These mountains bore north north-east of us, when anchored in three-fathom water, about five miles from the shore. The bay is so shallow, and the tide being at ebb, we could get no nearer; the town bore east north-east of us. Loheia is built upon the south-west side of a peninsula, surrounded every where, but on the east, by the sea. In the middle of this neck there is a small mountain, which serves for a

* It signifies Pharaoh's worm.

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fortress, and there are towers with cannon, which reach across on each side of the hill to the shore. Beyond this is a plain, where the Arabs, intending to attack the town, generally assemble. The ground upon which Loheia stands is black earth, and seems to have been formed by the retiring of the sea. At Loheia we had a very uneasy sensation; a kind of prickling came into our legs, which were bare, occasioned by the salt effluvia, or steams, from the earth, which all about the town, and further to the south, is strongly impregnated with that mineral.

Fish, and butcher meat, and indeed all sorts of provision, are plentiful and reasonable at Loheia, but the water is bad. It is found in the sand at the foot of the mountains, down the sides of which it has fallen in the time of the rain, and is brought to the town in skins upon camels. There is also plenty of fruit brought from the mountains by the Bedoweens, who live in the skirts of the town, and supply it with milk, firewood, and fruit, chiefly grapes and bananas.

The government of the Imam is much more gentle than any Moorish government in Arabia or Africa; the people, too, are of gentler manners, the men, from early ages, being accustomed to trade. The women at Loheia are as solicitous to please as those of the most polished nations in Europe; and, though very retired, whether married or unmarried, they are not less careful of their dress and persons. At home they wear nothing but a long shift of fine cotton-cloth, suitable to their quality. They dye their feet and hands with henna *, not only for ornament, but as an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat: they wear their own hair, which is plaited, and falls in long tails behind.

* Ligustrum Ægyptiacum Latifolium.

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The Arabians consider long and straight hair as beautiful. The Abyssinians prefer the short and curled. The Arabians perfume themselves and their shifts with a composition of musk, ambergris, incense, and benjoin, which they mix with the sharp horny nails, that are at the extremity of the fish surrumbac; but why this ingredient is added I know not, as the smell of it, when burnt, does not at all differ from that of horn. They put all these ingredients into a kind of censer on charcoal, and stand over the smoke of it. The smell is very agreeable; but, in Europe, it would be a very expensive article of luxury.

The Arab women are not black; there are even some exceedingly fair. They are more corpulent than the men, but are not much esteemed. The Abyssinian girls, who are bought for money, are greatly preferred; among other reasons, because their time of bearing children is longer; few Arabian women have children after the age of twenty.

At Loheia we received a letter from Mahomet Gibberti, telling us, that it would yet be ten days before he could join us, and desiring us to be ready by that time. This hurried us extremely; for we were much afraid we should not have time to see the remaining part of the Arabian Gulf, to where it joins with the Indian Ocean.

On the 27th, in the evening, we parted from Loheia, but were obliged to tow the boat out. About nine, we anchored between an island called Ormook, and the land; about eleven, we set sail with a wind at north-east, and passed a cluster of islands on our left.

The 28th, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw the small island of Rasab; at a quarter after six, we passed between it and a large island called Camaran,

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where there is a Turkish garrison and town, and plenty of good water. At twelve, we passed a low round island, which seemed to consist of white sand. The weather being cloudy I could get no observation. At one o'clock, we were off Cape Israel.

As the weather was fair, and the wind due north and steady, though little of it, my Rais said, that we had better stretch over to Azab, than run along the coast in the direction we were now going, because, somewhere between Hodeida and Cape Nummel, there was foul ground, with which he should not like to engage in the night. Nothing could be more agreeable to me; for, though I knew the people of Azab were not to be trusted, yet there were two things I thought I might accomplish, by being on my guard. The one was, to learn what those ruins were that I had heard so much spoken of in Egypt and at Jidda, and which are supposed to have been works of the queen of Sheba, whose country this was; the other was, to obtain the myrrh and frankincense tree, which grow upon that coast only, but neither of which had, as yet, been described by any author.

At four o'clock we passed a dangerous shoal, which is the one, I suppose our Rais was afraid of. If so, he could not have adopted a worse measure, than by stretching over from Cape Israel to Azab in the night; for had the wind come westerly, as it soon after did, we should have probably been on the bank; as it was, we passed it something less than a mile, the wind was north, and we were going at a great rate. At sun-set, we saw Jibbel Zekir, with three small islands, on the north side of it. At twelve at night the wind failing, we found ourselves about a league from the west end of Jibbel Zekir, but it then began to blow fresh from the west; so that the Rais begged liberty to abandon the voyage to

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Azab, and to keep our first intended one to Mocha. For my part, I had no desire at all to land at Mocha. Mr Niebuhr had already been there before us; and I was sure every useful observation had been made as to the country, for he had staid there a very considerable time, and was ill used. We kept our course, however, upon Mocha town.

The 29th, about two o'clock in the morning, we passed six islands, called Jibbel el Ourèe; and having but indifferent wind, we anchored about nine off the point of the shoal, which lies immediately east of the north fort of Mocha.

The town of Mocha makes an agreeable appearance from the sea. Behind it there is a grove of palm-trees, that do not seem to have the beauty of those in Egypt, probably owing to their being exposed to the violent south-westers that blow here, and make it very uneasy riding for vessels; there is, however, very seldom any damage done. The port is formed by two points of land, which make a semicircle. Upon each of the points is a small fort; the town is in the middle; and, if attacked by an enemy, these two forts are so detached, that they might be made of more use to annoy the town, than they could ever be to defend the harbour. The ground for anchorage is of the very best kind, sand without coral, which last chafes the cables all over the Red Sea.

On the 30th, at seven o'clock in the morning, with a gentle but steady wind at west, we sailed for the mouth of the Indian ocean. Our Rais became more lively and bold as he approached his own coast, and offered to carry me for nothing, if I would go home with him to Sheher; but I had already enough upon my hand. It is, however, a voyage some man of knowledge and enterprise should attempt, as the country and the manners of the people are very little

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known. But thus far is certain, that there all the precious gums grow; all the drugs of the Galenical school, the frankincense, myrrh, benjoin, dragonsblood, and a multitude of others, the natural history of which no one has yet given us.

The coast of Arabia, all along from Mocha to the Straits, is a bold coast, close to which you may run without danger, night or day. We continued our course within a mile of the shore, where in some places there appeared to be small woods, in others a flat bare country, bounded with mountains at a considerable distance. Our wind freshened as we advanced. About four in the afternoon, we saw the mountain which forms one of the capes of the Straits of Babelmandel, in shape resembling a gunner's quoin. About six o'clock, for what reason I did not know, our Rais insisted upon anchoring for the night behind a small point. I thought, at first, it had been for pilots.

The 31st, at nine in the morning, we came to an anchor above Jibbel Raban, or Pilot's Island, just under the cape, which, on the Arabian side, forms the north entrance of the Straits. We now saw a small vessel enter a round harbour, divided from us by the cape. The Rais said he had a design to have anchored there last night; but as it was troublesome to get out in the morning by the westerly wind, he intended to run over to Perim island to pass the night, and gave us an opportunity to make what observations we pleased, in quiet.

We caught here a prodigious quantity of the finest fish that I had ever before seen; but the silly Rais greatly troubled our enjoyment, by telling us, that many of the fish in that part were poisonous. Several of our people took the alarm and abstained; the rule I made use of in choosing mine, was, to take all

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those that were likest the fish of our own northern seas; nor had I ever any reason to complain.

At noon, I made an observation of the sun, just under the cape of the Arabian shore, with a Hadley's quadrant, and found it to be in lat. 12° 38′ 30″; but by many passages of the stars, observed by my large astronomical quadrant in the island of Perim, all deductions made, I found the true latitude of the cape should be rather 12° 39′ 20″ north.

Perim is a low island, its harbour good, fronting the Abyssinian shore. It is a barren, bare rock, producing, on some parts of it, plants of absynthium, or rue, in others kelp, that did not seem to thrive; it was at this time perfectly scorched by the heat of the sun, and had only a very faint appearance of having ever vegetated. The island itself is about five miles in length, perhaps more, and about two miles in breadth. It becomes narrower at both ends. Ever since we anchored at the cape, it had begun to blow strongly from the west, which gave our Rais great apprehension, as, he said, the wind sometimes continued in that point for fifteen days together. This alarmed me not a little, lest, by missing Mahomet Gibberti, we should lose our voyage. We had rice and butter, honey and flour. The sea afforded us plenty of fish, and I had no doubt but that hunger would get the better of our fears of being poisoned: with water we were likewise pretty well supplied, but all this was rendered useless by our being deprived of fire. In short, though we could have killed twenty turtles a-day, all we could get to make fire of, were the rotten dry roots of the rue that we pulled from the clefts of the rock, which, with much ado, served to make fire for boiling our coffee.

The 1st of August, we ate drammock, made with cold water and raw flour, mixed with butter and ho-

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ney, but we soon found this would not do, though I never was hungry, in my life, with so much good provision about me; for, besides the articles already spoken of, we had two skins of wine from Loheia, and a small jar of brandy, which I had kept expressly for a feast, to drink the King's health on arriving in his dominions, the Indian Ocean. I therefore proposed, that leaving the Rais on board, myself and two men should cross over to the south side, to try if we could get any wood in the kingdom of Adel. This, however, did not please my companions. We were much nearer the Arabian shore, and the Rais had observed several people on land, who seemed to be fishers.

If the Abyssinian shore was bad from its being desert, the danger of the Arabian side was, that we should fall into the hands of thieves. But the fear of wanting even coffee, was so prevalent, and the repetition of the drammock dose so disgusting, that we resolved to take a boat in the evening, with two men armed, and speak to the people we had seen. Here again the Rais's heart failed him. He said the inhabitants on that coast had fire-arms as well as we, and they could bring a million of men together, if they wanted them, in a moment; therefore we should forsake Perim island for the time, and, without hoisting in the boat, till we saw further, run with the vessel close to the Arabian shore. There, it was conceived, armed as we were, with ammunition in plenty, we should be able to defend ourselves, if those we had seen were pirates, of which I had not any suspicion, as they had been eight hours in our sight, without having made one movement nearer us; but I was the only person on board that was of that opinion.

Upon attempting to get our vessel out, we found the wind strong against us; so that we were obliged, with great difficulty and danger, to tow her round the

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west point, at the expence of many hard knocks, which she got by the way. During this operation, the wind had calmed considerably; my quadrant, and every thing was on board; all our arms, new charged and primed, were laid, covered with a cloth, in the cabin, when we found happily that the wind became due east, and with the wind our resolution changed. We were but twenty leagues to Mocha, and not above twenty-six from Azab, and we thought it better, to get on our return to Loheia, than to stay and live upon drammock, or fight with the pirates for fire-wood. About six o'clock, we were under weigh. The wind being perfectly fair, we carried as much sail as our vessel would bear, indeed till her masts nodded again. But before we begin the account of our return, it will be necessary to say something of these famous Straits, the communication between the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

This entrance begins to shew itself, or take a shape between two capes; the one on the continent of Africa, the other on the peninsula of Arabia. That on the African side is a high land, or cape, formed by a chain of mountains, which run out in a point far into the sea. The Portugueze, or Venetians, the first Christian traders in those parts, have called it Gardefui, which has no signification in any language. But, in that of the country where it is situated, it is called Gardefan; and means the Straits of Burial, the reason of which will be seen afterwards. The opposite cape is Fartak, on the east coast of Arabia Felix, and the distance between them, in a line drawn across from one to another, not above fifty leagues. The breadth between these two lands diminishes gradually for about 150 leagues, till at last it ends in the Straits, whose breadth does not seem to me to be above six leagues.

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After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the island of Perim, otherwise called Mehun. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the coast on both sides runs nearly in a north-west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows straiter. The coast upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of Adel, and, on the right, that of Arabia Felix. The passage on the Arabian shore, though the narrowest and shallowest of the two, is that most frequently sailed through, and especially in the night; because, if you do not round the south-point of the island, as near as possible, in attempting to enter the broad one, but are going large with the wind favourable, you fall in with a great number of low small islands, where there is danger. At ten o'clock, with the wind fair, our course almost north-east, we passed three rocky islands about a mile on our left.

On the 2d, at sun-rise, we saw land a-head, which we took to be the Main, but, upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, we found two low islands to the leeward; one of which we fetched with great difficulty. We found there the stock of an old acacia-tree, and two or three bundles of wreck, or rotten sticks, which we gathered with great care; and all of us agreed, we would eat breakfast, dinner, and supper hot, instead of the cold repast we had made upon the drammock in the Straits. We now made several large fires: one took the charge of the coffee; another boiled the rice; we killed four turtles, made ready a dolphin; got beer, wine, and brandy, and drank the King's health in earnest, which our

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regimen would not allow us to do in the Straits of Babelmandel. While this good cheer was preparing, I saw with my glass, first one man running along the coast westward, who did not stop; about a quarter of an hour after, another upon a camel, walking at the ordinary pace, who dismounted just opposite to us, and, as I thought, kneeled down to say his prayers upon the sand. We had launched our boat immediately upon seeing the trunk of the tree on the island; so we were ready, and I ordered two of the men to row me on shore, which they did.

It is a bay of but ordinary breadth, with straggling trees, and some flat ground along the coast. Immediately behind is a row of mountains of a brownish, or black colour. The man remained motionless, sitting on the ground, till the boat was ashore, when I jumped out upon the sand, being armed with a short double-barrelled gun, a pair of pistols, and a crooked knife. As soon as the savage saw me ashore, he made the best of his way to his camel, and got upon his back, but did not offer to go away.

I sat down on the ground, after taking the white turban off my head, and waving it several times in token of peace, and seeing that he did not stir, I advanced to him about a hundred yards. Still he stood, and after again waving to him with my hands, as inviting him to approach, I made a sign as if I was returning to the shore. Upon seeing this, he advanced several paces, and stopt. I then laid my gun down upon the land, thinking that had frightened him, and walked up as near him as he would suffer me; that is, till I saw he was preparing to go away. I then waved my turban, and cried, Salam, Salam. He staid till I was within ten yards of him. He was quite naked, was black, and had a fillet upon his head, either of a black or blue rag, and bracelets of white beads

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upon both his arms. He appeared as undetermined what to do. I spoke as distinctly to him as I could, Salam Alicum. He answered something like Salam, but what it was I know not. "I am," said I, "a stranger from India, who came last from Tajoura, in the bay of Zeyla, in the kingdom of Adel." He nodded his head, and said something in an unknown language, in which I heard the repetition of Tajoura and Adel. I told him I wanted water, and made a sign of drinking. He pointed up the coast to the eastward, and said, Raheeda; then made a sign of drinking, and said, Tybe. I now found that he understood me, and asked him where Azab was? he pointed to a mountain just before him, and said, "Eh owah Azab Tybe," still with a representation of drinking.

I debated with myself, whether I should not take this savage prisoner. He had three short javelins in his hand, and was mounted upon a camel, I was on foot, and above the ancles in sand, with only two pistols, which, whether they would terrify him to surrender or not, I did not know; I should, otherwise, have been obliged to have shot him, and this I did not intend. After having invited him as courteously as I could, to the boat, I walked towards it myself, and, in the way, took up my firelock, which was lying hid among the sand. I saw he did not follow me a step, but when I had taken the gun from the ground, he set off at a trot as fast as he could, to the westward, and we presently lost him among the trees.

I returned to the boat, and then to dinner on the island, which we named Traitor's Island, from the suspicious behaviour of that only man we had seen near it. This excursion lost me the time of making my observation; all the use I made of it was to gather some sticks and camel's dung, which I heaped up, and made the men carry to the boat, to serve us for

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firing, if we should be detained. The wind was very fair, and we got under weigh by two o'clock.

About four we passed a rocky island, with breakers on its south end; we left it about a mile to the windward of us. The Rais called it Crab Island. About five o'clock we came to an anchor, close to a cape of no height, in a small bay, in three fathom of water, and leaving a small island just on our stern. We had not anchored here above ten minutes, before an old man and a boy came down to us. As they had no arms, I went ashore, and bought a skin of water. The old man had a very sly and thievish appearance, was quite naked, and laughed or smiled at every word he said. He spoke Arabic, but badly; told me there was great plenty of every thing in the country, whither he would carry me. He said, moreover, that there was a king there, and a people that loved strangers, which I knew perfectly was a lie.

The murder of the boat's crew of the Elgin East-Indiaman, in that very spot where he was then sitting and praising his countrymen, came perfectly into my mind. I found my hand involuntarily take hold of my pistol, and I was, for the only time in my life, strongly tempted to commit murder. I thought I saw in the looks of that old vagrant, one of those who had butchered so many Englishmen in cold blood.

From his readiness to come down, and being so near the place, it was next to impossible that he was not one of the party. A little reflection, however, saved his life; and I asked him if he could sell us a sheep? when he said, they were coming. These words put me on my guard, as I did not know how many people might accompany them. I, therefore, desired him to bring me the water to the boat, which the boy

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accordingly did, and we paid him, in cohol, or stibium, to his wishes.

Immediately upon this I ordered them to put the boat afloat, demanding, all the time, where were the sheep? A few minutes afterwards, four stout young men came down, dragging after them two lean goats, which the old man maintained to me were sheep. Each man had three light javelins in his hand, and they began to wrangle exceedingly about the animals, whether they were sheep, or goats, though they did not seem to understand one word of our language, but the words sheep and goat in Arabic. In five minutes after, their number increased to eleven, and I thought it was then full time for me to go on board, for every one of them seemed, by his discourse and gestures, to be violently agitated; but what they said I could not comprehend. I drew to the shore, and then put myself on board as soon as possible. They seemed to keep at a certain distance, crying out, "Belled, belled!" and, pointing to the land, invited me to come ashore; the old hypocrite alone seemed to have no fear, but followed me close to the boat. I then resolved to have a free discourse with him. "There is no need," said I to the old man, "to send for thirteen men to bring two goats. We bought the water from people that had lances, and we can do without the sheep, though we could not want the water; therefore, every man that has a lance in his hand, let him go away from me, or I will fire upon him."

They seemed to take no sort of notice of this, and came rather nearer. "You old grey-headed traitor," said I, "do you think I don't know what you want, by inviting me on shore? let all those about you with arms go home about their business, or I will, in a minute, blow them all off the face of the earth." He then jumped up, with rather more agility than his

age seemed to promise, and went to where the rest were sitting in a cluster, and after a little conversation the whole of them retired.

The old fellow and the boy now came down without fear to the boat, when I gave them tobacco, some beads, and antimony, and did every thing to gain the father's confidence. But he still smiled and laughed, and I saw clearly he had taken his resolution. The whole burden of his song was, to persuade me to come on shore, and he mentioned every inducement, and all the kindness that he would shew me. "It is fit, you old rogue," said I, "now that your life is in my hands, that you should know how much better men there are in the world than you. They were my countrymen, eleven or twelve of whom you murdered about three years ago, in the very place where you are now sitting; and, though I could have killed the same number to-day, without any danger to myself, I have not only let them go away, but have bought and sold with you, and given you presents, when, according to your own law, I should have killed both you and your son. Now, do not imagine, knowing what I know, that ever you shall decoy me ashore; but if you will bring me a branch of the myrrh tree, and of the incense tree to-morrow, I will give you two fonduclis for each of them." He said, he would do it that night. "The sooner the better," said I, "for it is now becoming dark." Upon this, he sent away his boy, who, in less than a quarter of an hour, came back with a branch in his hand.

I could not contain my joy; I ordered the boat to be drawn upon the shore, and went out to receive it; but to my great disappointment, I found that it was a branch of Acacia, or Sunt, which we had everywhere met with in Egypt or Syria, and Arabia. I told him, this was of no use, repeating the word, Gerar,

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Saiél, Sunt. He answered, "Eh owah Saiel!" but being asked for the myrrh (mour), he said it was far up in the mountains, but would bring it to me if I would go to the town. Providence, however, had dealt more kindly with us in the moment than we expected. For, upon going ashore, out of eagerness to get the myrrh, I saw, not a quarter of a mile from us, sitting among the trees, at least thirty men armed with javelins, who all got up the moment they saw me landed. I called to the boatmen to set the boat afloat, which they immediately did, and I got quickly on board, near up to the middle in water; but as I went by the old man, I gave him so violent a blow upon the face with the thorny branch in my hand, that it felled him to the ground. The boy fled, and we rowed off; but before we took leave of these traitors, we gave them a discharge of three blunderbusses, loaded with pistol-shot, in the direction where, in all probability, they were lying to see the boat go off.

I directed the Rais to stand out towards Crab-island, and there being a gentle breeze from the shore, carrying an easy sail, we stood over upon Mocha town, to avoid some rocks, or islands, which, he said, were to the westward. While lying at Crab-island, I observed two stars to pass the meridian, and by them I concluded the latitude of that island to be 13° 2′ 45″ north.

The wind continuing moderate, but more to the southward, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, we passed Jibbel Ourèe, then Jibbel Zekir; and, having a steady gale, with fair and moderate weather, passing to the westward of the island Rasab, between that and some other islands to the north-east, where the wind turned contrary, we arrived at Loheia, the 6th, in the morning, being the third day from the

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time we quitted Azab. We found every thing well on our arrival at Loheia; but no word of Mahomet Gibberti, and I began now to be uneasy. The rains in Abyssinia were to cease the 6th of next month, September, and then was the proper time for our journey to Gondar.

The only money in the country of the Imam *, is a small piece less than a sixpence, and by this the value of all the different denominations of foreign coin is ascertained. It has four names, Commesh, Loubia, Muchsota, and Harf; but the first of these is most commonly used.

This money is very base adulterated silver, if, indeed, there be any in it. It has the appearance of pewter; on the one side is written Olmass, the name of the Imam; on the other, Emir el Moumeneen, Prince of the Faithful, or True Believers; a title, first taken by Omar, after the death of Abou Becr; and since borne by all the legitimate caliphs. There are likewise Half-commeshes, and these are the smallest specie current in Yemen.

1	Venetian Sequin, - - -	90	Commeshes.
1	Fonducli, - - - - - -	80	
1	Barbary Sequin, - - -	80	
1	Pataka, or Imperial Dollar,	40	

When the Indian merchants, or vessels, are here, the fonducli is raised three commeshes more, though all specie is scarce in the Imam's country, notwithstanding the quantity continually brought hither for coffee, in silver patakas, that is dollars, which is the coin in which purchases of any amount are paid.

* Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

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When they are to be changed into commeshes, the changer, or broker, gives you but 39 instead of 40, so he gains two and a half per cent. for all the money he changes, that is, by giving bad coin for good.

The long measure in Yemen is the peek of Stamboul, as they call it; but, upon measuring it with a standard of a Stamboul peek, upon a brass rod made on purpose, I found it $26\frac{3}{8}$ inches, which is neither the Stambouline peek, the Hendaizy peek, nor the el Belledy peek. The peek of Stamboul is $23\frac{3}{5}$ inches, so this of Loheia is a distinct peek, which may be called Yemani *.

The weights of Loheia are the rotolo, which are of two sorts, one of 140 drachms, and used in selling fine, the other 160 drachms for ordinary and coarser goods. This last is divided into 16 ounces, each ounce into 10 drachms; 100 of these rotolos are a kantar, or quintal. The quintal of Yemen, carried to Cairo, or Jidda, is 113 rotolo, because the rotolo of these places is 144 drachms. Their weights appear to be of Italian origin, and were probably brought hither when the Venetians carried on this trade.—There is another weight, called faranzala, which I take to be the native one of the country. It is equal to 20 rotolo, of 160 drachms each.

The customs, which at Mocha are three per cent. upon India goods, are five here, when brought directly from India; but all goods whatever, brought from Jidda by merchants, whether Turks or natives, pay seven per cent. at Loheia.

Loheia is in lat. 15° 40′ 52″ north, and in long. 42° 58′ 15″ east of the meridian of Greenwich.—The bar-

* That is, the Peek of Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

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ometer, at its highest on the 7th day of August, was 26° 9′ and its lowest 26° 1′, on the 30th of July.—The thermometer, when at its highest, was 99° on the 30th of the same month, wind north-east; and its lowest was 81° on the 9th of August, wind south by east.

On the 31st of August, at four o'clock in the morning, I saw a comet for the first time. The head of it was scarcely visible in the telescope, that is, its precise form, which was a pale indistinct luminous body, whose edges were not at all defined. Its tail extended full 20°. It seemed to be a very thin vapour, for through it I distinguished several stars of the fifth magnitude, which seemed to be increased in size. The end of its tail had lost all its fiery colour, and was very thin and white. I could distinguish no nucleus, nor any part that seemed redder or deeper than the rest; for all was a dim ill-defined spot. At 4hrs 1′ 24″, on the morning of the 31st it was distant 20° 40′ from Rigel; its tail extended to three stars in Eridanus.

The 1st of September Mahomet Gibberti arrived, bringing with him the firman for the Naybe of Masuah, and letters from Metical Aga to Ras Michael. * He also brought a letter to me, and another to Achmet, the Naybe's nephew, and apparent successor, from Sidi Ali Zimzimia, that is, "the keeper of Ishmael's well at Mecca, called Zimzim." In this letter, Sidi Ali desires me to put little trust in the Naybe, but to keep no secret from Achmet his nephew, who would certainly be my friend.

* Governor of the Province of Tigrè, in Abyssinia.

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CHAP. XIII.

Sails for Masuah—Passes a Volcano—Comes to Dahalac—Troubled with a Ghost—Arrives at Masuah.

All being prepared for our departure, we sailed from Loheia on the 3d of September, 1769, but the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the vessel out upon her anchor. The harbour of Loheia, which is by much the largest in the Red Sea, is now so shallow, and choked up, that, unless by a narrow channel through which we enter and go out, there is no where three fathom of water, and in many places not half that depth. This is the case with all the harbours on the east-coast of the Red Sea, while those on the west are deep, without any banks or bars before them, which is probably owing, as I have already said, to the violence of the north-west winds, the only constant strong winds to be met with in this Gulf. These occasion strong currents to set in upon the east-coast, and heap up the sand and gravel, which is blown in from Arabia.

All next day, the 4th, we were employed at warping out our vessel against a contrary wind. The 5th, at three quarters past five in the morning, we got under sail with little wind. At half-past nine, Loheia bore east north-east about four leagues distant; and here we came in sight of several small, barren, and uninhabited islands. Booarish bore south-west two miles off; Zebid one mile and a half distant, east and by north; Amar, the smallest of all, one mile south; and Ormook, south-east by east two miles.

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The Arabs of the mountain, who had attempted to surprise Loheia in the spring, now prepared for another attack against it, and had advanced within three days journey. This obliged the Emir to draw together all his troops from the neighbourhood; all the camels were employed to lay in an extraordinary stock of water.

Our Rais, who was a stranger, and without connections in this place, found himself under great difficulties to provide water enough for the voyage; for we had but a scanty provision left, and though our boat was no more than sixty feet long, we had about forty people on board of her. I had indeed hired the vessel for myself, but gave the Rais leave to take some known people passengers on board, as it was very dangerous to make enemies in the place to which I was going, by frustrating any person of his voyage home, even though I paid for the boat, and still as dangerous to take a person unknown, whose end in the voyage might be to defeat my designs. We were resolved, therefore, to bear away for an island to the northward, where they said the water was both good, and in plenty.

In the course of this day, we passed several small islands, and in the evening, anchored in seven fathom and a half of water, near a shoal, distant four leagues from Loheia. We there observed the bearings and distances of several islands, with which we were engaged; Foosht W. b. N. ¼ north, four leagues; Baccalan, N. W. b. W. three leagues; Baida, a large high rock above the water, with white steep cliffs, and a great quantity of sea-fowl; Djund, and Mufracken, two large rocks off the west point off Baccalan, W. N. W. ¼ west, eleven miles; they appear, at a distance, like a large heap of ruins: Umsegger, a very small island, nearly level with the water, W. N. W. ¼ west four miles distant; Nachel, S. E. ¼ E. one league off;

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Ajerb, S. E. b. E. ½ south, two leagues; Surbat, an island S. E. b. E. ¾ south, distant ten miles; it has a marabout or Shekh's tomb upon it: Dahu and Dee, two small islands, close together, N. W. ¼ west, about eleven miles distant; Djua, S. E. ½ south; it is a small white island, four leagues and a half off: Sahar, W. ¼ north, nine miles off.

On the 6th, we got under sail at five o'clock in the morning. Our water had failed us, as we foresaw, but in the evening we anchored at Foosht, in two fathoms water east of the town, and here staid the following day, our sailors being employed in filling our skins with water; for they make no use of casks in this sea.

Foosht is an island of irregular form. It is about five miles from south to north, and about nine in circumference. It abounds in good fish. We did not use our net, as our lines more than supplied us. There were many kinds, painted with the most beautiful colours in the world; but I always observed, the more beautiful they were, the worse for eating. There were, indeed, none good but those that resembled the fish of the north in their form, and plainness of their colours. Foosht is low and sandy on the south, and on the north is a black hill or cape of no considerable height, that may be seen at four leagues off. It has two watering-places; one on the east of the island, where we now were, the other on the west. The water there is bitter, but it had been troubled by a number of little barks, that had been taking in water just before us. The manner of filling their goat-skins being a very slovenly one, they take up much of the mud along with it, but we found the water excellent, after it had settled two or three days; when it came on board, it was as black as ink. It was incomparably the best water we had drank since that of the Nile.

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This island is covered with a kind of bent grass, which want of rain, and the constant feeding of the few goats that are kept here, prevent from growing to any height. The end of the island, near the north cape, sounds very hollow, underneath, like Solfaterra, near Naples; and as quantities of pumice stones are found here, there is great appearance that the black hill was once a volcano. Several large shells from the fish called Bisser, some of them twenty inches long, are seen turned upon their faces, on the surface of large stones, of ten or twelve ton weight. These shells are sunk into the stones, as if they were into paste, and the stone raised round about, so as to conceal the edge of the shell; a proof that this stone has, some time lately, been soft or liquified. For, had it been long ago, the weather and sun would have worn the surface of the shell; but it seems perfectly entire, and is set in that hard brown rock, as the stone of a ring is in a golden chasing.

The inhabitants of Foosht are poor fishermen, of the same degree of blackness as those between Heli and Djezan; like them too, they were naked, or had only a rag about their waist. Their faces are neither stained nor painted. They catch a quantity of fish called Seajan, which they carry to Loheia, and exchange for Dora and Indian corn; for they have no bread, but what is procured this way. They also have a flat fish, with a long tail, whose skin is a species of shagreen, with which the handles of knives and swords are made. Pearls too are fonnd here, but neither large nor of a good water; on the other hand, they are not dear; they are the produce of various species of shells, all Bivalves *.

* See the article Pearl in the Appendix.

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The town consists of about thirty huts, built with faggots of bent grass of Spartum, and these are supported within with a few sticks, and thatched with the grass of which they are built. The inhabitants seemed to be much terrified at seeing us come ashore all armed; this was not done out of fear of them, but, as we intended to stay on shore all night, we wished to be in a situation to defend ourselves against boats of strollers from the main. The saint, or Marabout, upon seeing me pass near him, fell flat upon his face, where he lay for a quarter of an hour; nor would he get up till the guns, which I was told had occasioned his fears, were ordered by me to be immediately sent on board.

On the 7th, by an observation of the meridian altitude of the sun, I found the latitude of Foosht to be 15° 59′ 43″ north. There are here many beautiful shell-fish; the concha veneris, of several sizes and colours, as also sea-urchins, or sea-eggs. I found particularly, one of the pentaphylloid kind, of a very particular form. Sponges of the common sort are likewise found all along this coast. The bearings and distances of the principal islands from Foosht are:

Baccalan, and the two rocks Djund and Mufraken,	E. N. E.	4	miles.
Baida rock,	E by N.	4	miles.
Sahar, - -	S. E.	3	do.
Ardaina,	W. N. W.	8	do.
Aideen, -	N. ½ E.	9	do.

Baccalan is an island, low, long, and as broad as Foosht, inhabited by fishermen; without water in summer, which is then brought from Foosht, but in winter they preserve the rain-water in cisterns. These were built in ancient times, when this was a place of

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importance for the fishing of pearls, and they are in perfect repair to this day; neither the cement of the work, nor the stucco within, having at all suffered. Very violent showers fall here from the end of October to the beginning of March, but at certain intervals.

All the islands on this east side of the channel belong to the Sheriffe Djezan of Booarish, but none are inhabited except Baccalan and Foosht. This last island is the most convenient watering-place for ships, bound up the channel from Jibbel Teir, from which it bears N. E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. by the compass, nineteen leagues distant. It should be remembered, however, that the western watering-place is most eligible, because, in that case, navigators need not engage themselves among the islands to the eastward, where they will have uneven soundings two leagues from the land; but, though they should fall to the eastward of this island, they will have good anchorage, from nine to eighteen fathoms water; the bottom being good sand, between the town and the white rock Baida.

Having supplied our great and material want of water, we all repaired on board in the evening of the 7th; we then found ourselves unprovided with another necessary, namely, fire; and my people began to remember how cold our stomachs were from the drammock at Babelmandel. Fire-wood is a very scarce article in the Red Sea. It is, nevertheless, to be found in small quantities, and in such only it is used. Zimmer, an island to the northward, was known to afford some; but, from the time I had landed at Foosht, on the 6th, a trouble of a very particular kind had fallen upon our vessel, of which I had no account till I had returned on board.

An Abyssinian, who had died on board, and who had been buried upon our coming out from Loheia

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bay, had been seen upon the boltsprit for two nights, and had terrified the sailors very much; even the Rais had been not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly say that he had seen him, yet, after I was in bed on the 7th, he complained seriously to me of the bad consequences it would produce, if a gale of wind was to rise, and the ghost was to keep his place there, and desired me to come forward and speak to him. "My good Rais," said I, "I am exceedingly tired, and my head aches much with the sun, which has been violent to-day. You know the Abyssinian paid for his passage, and if he does not overload the ship, (and I apprehend he should be lighter than when we took him on board) I do not think that, in justice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghost from continuing his voyage to Abyssinia, as we cannot judge what serious business he may have there." The Rais began to bless himself, that he did not know any thing of his affairs. "Then," said I, "if you did not find him make the vessel too heavy before, do not molest him; because, certainly if he were to come into any other part of the ship, or if he should insist to sit in the middle of you (in the disposition in which you all are) he would be a greater inconvenience to you than in his present post." The Rais again began to bless himself, repeating a verse of the Koran; "bismilla sheitan rejem," in the name of God keep the devil far from me. "Now, Rais," said I, "if he does us no harm, you may let him ride upon the boltsprit till he be tired, or till he come to Masuah; for I swear to you, unless he hurt or trouble us, I do not think I have any obligation to get out of my bed to molest him; only see that he carry nothing off with him."

The Rais now seemed to be exceedingly offended, and said, for his part he did not care for his life more

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than any other man on board; if it were not for fear of a gale of wind, he might ride on the boltsprit and be d——d; but that he had always heard learned people could speak to ghosts. "Will you be so good, Rais," said I, "to step forward and tell him, that I am going to drink coffee, and should be glad if he would walk into the cabin, and deliver any thing he has to communicate to me, if he be a Christian, and, if not, to Mahomet Gibberti." The Rais went out, but, as my servant told me, he would neither go himself, nor could get any person to go to the ghost for him. He came back, however, to drink coffee with me. I was very ill, and apprehensive of what the French call a *coup de soleil.* "Go," said I to the Rais, "to Mahomet Gibberti (who was lying just before us), tell him that I am a Christian, and have no jurisdiction over ghosts in these seas.

A Moor, called Yasine, well known to me afterwards, now came forward, and told me, that Mahomet Gibberti had been very ill since we sailed, of sea-sickness, and begged that I would not laugh at the spirit, or speak so familiarly of him, because it might very possibly be the devil, who often appeared in these parts. The Moor also desired I would send the Gibberti some coffee, and order my servant to boil him some rice with fresh water from Foosht; for hitherto our fish and our rice had been boiled in sea water, which I constantly preferred. This bad news of my friend Mahomet banished all merriment; I gave, therefore, the necessary orders for my servant to wait upon him, and at the same time recommended to Yasine to go forward with the Koran in his hand, and read all night, or till we should get to Zimmer, and then, or in the morning, bring me an account of what he had seen.

The 8th, early in the morning, we sailed from

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Foosht; but, the wind being contrary, we did not arrive at our destination till near mid-day, when we anchored in an open road, about half a mile from the island, for there is no harbour in Baccalan, Foosht, nor Zimmer. I then took my quadrant, and went with the boat ashore, to gather wood. Zimmer is a much smaller island than Foosht, without inhabitants, and without water; though, by the cisterns which still remain, and are sixty yards square, hewn out of the solid rock, we may imagine this was once a place of consequence; rain in abundance, at certain seasons, still falls there. It is covered with young plants of the rack tree, whose property it is, as I had already said, to vegetate in salt water. The old trees have been cut down, but there was a considerable number of Saiel, or Acacia trees, and of these we were in want.

Although Zimmer is said to be without water, yet there are antelopes upon it, as also hyænas in number; and it is therefore probable that there is water in some subterraneous caves, or clefts of the rocks, unknown to the Arabs or fishermen, without, which these animal could not subsist. It is probable the antelopes were brought over from Arabia for the Sheriffe's pleasure, or that of his friends, if they did not swim from the main-land, and that an enemy afterwards brought the hyæna to disappoint that amusement. Be that as it may, though I did not myself see the animals, yet I observed the dung of each of them upon the sand, and in the cisterns; so the fact does not rest wholly upon the veracity of the boatman. We found at Zimmer plenty of the large shell-fish called bisser and surrumbac, but no other. I found Zimmer, by an observation of the sun at noon, to be in lat. 16° 7′ north; and from it we observed the following bearings and distances.

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Sahaanah,	-	dist.	9 miles.	S. by W.
Foosht,	-	do.	8 do.	N. W. by N. ¼ W.
Aideen,	-	do.	7 do.	E.
Ardaina,	-	do.	2 do.	E. by S.
Rapha,	-	do.	6 do.	N. W. ¼ N.
Doohaarab,	-	do.	21 do,	W. N. W. ¼ W.

We sailed in the night from Zimmer. When we came nearer the channel, the islands were fewer, and we had never less than twenty-five fathom water. The wind was constantly to the north and west, and during all the heat of the day, N. N. W. At the same time we had visibly a strong current to the northward.

The 9th, at six o'clock in the morning, the island Rapha bore N. E. by E., distant about two leagues; and in the same direction we saw the tops of very high mountains in Arabia Felix, which we imagined to be those above Djezan; and, though these could not be less than twenty-six leagues distance, yet I distinguished their tops plainly, some minutes before sun-rise. At noon, I observed our latitude to be 16° 10′ 3″ north, so we had made very little way this day, it being for the most part calm. Rapha then bore E. ¾ N. distant thirteen miles, and Doohaarab N. N. W. five miles off. We continued under sail all the evening, but made little way, and still less during the night."

On the 10th, at seven in the morning, I first saw Jibbel Teir; till then it had been covered with a mist. I ordered the pilot to bear down directly upon it. All this forenoon our vessel had been surrounded with a prodigious number of sharks. They were of the hammer-headed kind, and two large ones seemed to vie with each other which should come nearest our vessel. The Rais had fitted a large harpoon, with a long line, for the large fish in the channel, and I went

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to the boltsprit, to wait for one of the sharks, after having begged the Rais, first to examine if all was tight there, and if the ghost had done it no harm by sitting so many nights upon it. He shook his head, laughing, and said, " The sharks seek something more substantial than ghosts." " If I am not mistaken, Rais," said I, " this ghost seeks something more substantial, too, and you shall see the end of it."

I struck the largest shark about a foot from the head, with such force, that the whole iron was buried in his body. He shuddered, as a person does when cold, and shook the shaft of the harpoon out of the socket, the weapon being made so on purpose; the shaft fell across, kept fixed to the line, and served as a float to bring him up when he dived, and impeded him when he swam. No salmon-fisher ever saw finer sport with a fish and a rod. He had thirty fathom of line out, and we had thirty fathom more ready to give him. He never dived, but sailed round the vessel like a ship, always keeping part of his back above water. The Rais, who directed us, begged we would not pull him, but give him as much more line as he wanted; and, indeed, we saw it was the weight of the line that galled him, for he went round the vessel without seeking to go farther from us. At last he came nearer, upon our gathering up the line, and upon gently pulling it after, we brought him alongside, till we fastened a strong boat-hook in his throat: a man, swung upon a cord, was now let down to cut his tail, while hanging on the ship's side; but he was, if not absolutely dead, without the power of doing harm. He was eleven feet seven inches from his snout to his tail, and nearly four feet round in the thickest part of him. He had in him a dolphin very lately swallowed, and about half-a-yard of blue cloth: He was the largest, the Rais said, he had ever seen, either in the Red Sea or in the Indian Ocean.

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About twenty minutes before twelve o'clock, we were about four leagues distant from the island, as near as I could judge upon a parallel. Having there taken my observation, and all deductions made, I concluded the latitude of the north end of Jibbel Teir to be 15° 38′ north; thirty-two leagues west longitude from Loheia, fifty-three east longitude from Masuah, and forty-six leagues east of the meridian of Jidda. Jibbel Teir, or the Mountain of the Bird, is called by others, Jibbel Douhan, or the Mountain of Smoke. I imagine that the same was the origin of our name of Gibraltar *, rather than from Tarik, who first landed in Spain; and one of my reasons is, that so conspicuous a mountain, near, and immediately in the face of the Moors of Barbary, must have been known by some name, long before Tarik, with his Arabs, made his descent into Spain.

The reason of its being called Jibbel Douhan, the Mountain of Smoke, is that, though in the middle of the sea, it is a volcano, which throws out fire, and though nearly extinguished, smokes to this day. It probably has been the occasion of the creation of great part of the neighbouring islands. Did it burn now, it would be of great use to shipping in the night; but in the earliest history of the trade of that sea, no mention is made of it, as in a state of conflagration. It was called Orneon in Ptolemy, the Bird Island, the same as Jibbel Teir. It is likewise called Sheban, from the white spot at the top of it, which seems to be sulphur; and a part seems to have fallen in, and to have enlarged the crater on this side. The island is four miles from south to north, has a peak, in form of a pyramid, in the middle of it, and is about a quar-

* Jibbel-al-Tier, the Mountain of the Bird: corruptly Gibraltar.

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ter of a mile high. It descends, equally, on both sides, to the sea; has four openings at the top, which vent smoke, and sometimes, in strong southerly winds, it is said to throw out fire. There was no such appearance when we passed it. The island is perfectly desert, being covered with sulphur and pumice-stones.

Some journals, that I have seen, are full of indraughts, whirlpools, and unfathomable depths, all around this island. I must, however, take the liberty of saying to these gentlemen, who are otherwise so very fond of soundings as to distribute them all over the channel, that they have been unfortunate in placing their unfathomable depths here, and even soundings. It is probable these are occasioned by the convulsions in the earth, made by this volcano; but the only indraught we saw, was a strong current setting northward, and there are soundings as far as three leagues east of it, in 33 fathom water, with a sandy bottom. Between this, and the island Rasab, you have soundings from 20 to 35 fathom, with sand and rocks; and on the east side you have good anchoring, from a league's distance, till within a cable length of the shore; and here is anchorage five leagues S. W. by W. in twenty-five fathoms, and I believe, also, in the line from Loheia to Dahalac, the effects of the convulsions of this volcano. Such, at least, is the information I procured at Masuah, from the pilots used to this navigation, in search of sulphur; such was the information also of my Rais, who went twice loaded with that commodity to his own country at Mascatte: no other people go there. Both Abyssinians and Arabians believe that this is the entry, or passage, by which the devil comes up to this world.

Six leagues E. by S. of this island there is a dangerous shoal with great overfalls, on which a French ship

struck in the year 1751, and was saved with great difficulty. Jibbel Teir is the point from which all our ships, going to Jidda, take their departure, after sailing from Mocha, and passing the islands to the southward.

We left Jibbel Teir on the 11th with little wind at west, but, towards mid-day, it freshened as usual, and turned northward to N. N. east. We were now in mid-channel, so that we stood on straight for Dahalac till half past four, when a boy, who went aloft, saw four islands in a direction N. W. W. ¼ west. We were standing on with a fresh breeze, and all our sails full, when I saw, a little before sun-set, a white fringed wave of the well-known figure of a breaker. I cried to the Rais for God's sake to shorten sail, for I saw a breaker a-head, straight in our way. He said there was no such thing; that I had mistaken it, for it was a sea-gull. About seven in the evening we struck upon a reef of coral rocks. Arabs are cowards in all sudden dangers, which they consider as particular directions, or mandates, of providence, and therefore not to be avoided. Few uncultivated minds, indeed, have any calmness, or immediate resource in themselves, when in unexpected danger. The Arab sailors were immediately for taking the boat, and sailing to the islands the boy had seen. The Abyssinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inside of the vessel, and making her a raft.

A violent dispute ensued, and after that a battle, when night overtook us, still fast upon the rock.—The Rais and Yasine, however, calmed the riot, when I begged the passengers would hear me. I told them, "You all know, or should know, that the boat is mine, as I bought it with my money, for the safety and accommodation of myself and servants; you know, likewise, that I and my men are all well armed,

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while you are naked; therefore, do not imagine that we will suffer any of you to enter that boat, and save your lives at the expence of ours. On this vessel of the Rais is your dependence, in it you are to be saved or to perish; therefore, all hands to work and get the vessel off, while it is calm; if she had been materially damaged, she had been sunk before now."—They all seemed on this to take courage, and said, they hoped I would not leave them. I told them, if they would be men, I would not leave them while there was a bit of the vessel together.

The boat was immediately launched, and one of my servants, the Rais, and two sailors, were put on board. They were soon up the bank, where the two sailors got out, who cut their feet at first upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to push the ship backwards, but she would not move. Poles and handspikes were tried, in order to stir her, but these were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when we knew the wind would rise, and it was to be feared she would then be dashed to pieces. Mahomet Gibberti, and Yasine, had been reading the Koran aloud ever since the vessel struck. I said to them in passing, "Sirs, would it not be as wise for you to leave your books till you get ashore, and lend a hand to the people?" Mahomet answered, "that he was so weak and sick, that he could not stand." But Yasine did not slight the rebuke; he stripped himself naked, went forward on the vessel, and then threw himself into the sea. He, first, very judiciously, felt what room there was for standing, and found the bank was of considerable breadth, and that we were stuck upon the point of it; that it rounded, slanting away afterwards, and seemed very deep at the sides, so that the people, standing on the

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edge of it, could not reach the vessel to push it, but only those upon the point. The Rais and Yasine now cried for poles and handspikes, which were given them; two more men let themselves down by the side, and stood upon the bank. I then desired the Rais to get out a line, come a-stern with the boat, and draw her in the same direction that they pushed.

As soon as the boat could be towed a-stern, a great cry was set up, that she began to move. A little after, a gentle wind just made itself felt from the east, and the cry from the Rais was, "Hoist the fore-sail, and put it a-back." This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the fore-sail at the time, they all pushed, and the vessel slid gently off, free from the shoal. I cannot say I partook of the joy so suddenly as the others did. I had always some fears a plank might have been started; but we saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she not only was unhurt, but made very little water. The people were all exceedingly tired, and nobody thought they could enough praise the courage and readiness of Yasine. From that day he grew into consideration with me, which increased ever after, till my departure from Abyssinia.

The latitude of our place, at noon, had been 15° 32′ 12″. I rectified my quadrant, and hung it up.—Seeing the clear of the Lyre, not far from the meridian, I was willing to be certain of that dangerous place we had fallen upon. By two obervations of Lucida Lyræ, and Lucida Aquilæ, and by a mean of both, I found the bank to be in latitude 15° 28′ 15″ north.

There was a circumstance, during the hurry of this transaction, that gave us all reason to be surprised.—The ghost was supposed to be again seen on the bowsprit, as if pushing the vessel ashore; and as this was

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breaking covenant with me, as a passenger, I thought it was time some notice should be taken of him, since the Rais had referred it entirely to me. I inquired who the persons were that had seen him. Two Moors of Hamazen were the first that perceived him, and afterwards a great part of the crew had been brought to believe in the reality of this vision. I called them forward to examine them before the Rais, and Mahomet Gibberti, and they declared that, during the night, they had seen him go and come several times; once, he was pushing against the boltsprit, another time he was pulling upon the rope, as if he had an anchor ashore; after this, he had a very long pole, or stick, in his hand, but it seemed heavy and stiff, as if it had been made of iron; and, when the vessel began to move, he turned into a small blue flame, ran along the gunnel on the larboard side of the ship, and, upon the vessel going off, he disappeared. "Now," said I, "it is plain by this change of shape, that he has left us for ever; let us, therefore, see whether he has done us any harm or not. Has any of you any baggage stowed forwards?" The strangers answered, "Yes, it is all there." Then said I, "Go forward, and see if every man has got his own." They all did this without loss of time, when a great noise and confusion ensued; every one was plundered of something, stibium, nails, brass-wire, incense and beads; in short, all the precious part of their little stores was stolen.

All the passengers were now in the utmost despair, and began to charge the sailors. "I appeal to you, Yasine and Mahomet Gibberti," said I, "whether these two Moors who saw him oftenest, and were most intimate with him, have not a chance of knowing where the things are hid; for, in my country, where ghosts are very frequent, they are always assisted in the thefts they are guilty of, by those that see and

converse with them. I suppose, therefore, it is the same with Mahometan ghosts." "The very same," said Mahomet Gibberti and Yasine," as far as ever we heard." "Then, go, Yasine, with the Rais, and examine that part of the ship where the Moors slept, while I keep them here; and take two sailors with you, that know the secret places." Before the search began, however, one of them told Yasine where every-thing was, and accordingly all was found and restored. I would not have the reader imagine, that I here mean to value myself, either upon any supernatural knowledge, or extreme sagacity, in supposing that it was a piece of roguery from the beginning, of which I never doubted. But, while Yasine and the sailors were busy pushing off the vessel, and I a-stern at an observation, Mahomet Gibberti's servant, sitting by his master, saw one of the Moors go to the repository of the baggage, and, after staying a little, come out with a box and package in his hand. This he told his master, who informed me, and the ghost, finding his associates discovered, never was seen any more.

The 12th, in the morning, we found that this shoal was a sand-bank, with a ridge of coral rocks upon it, which stretches hither from Selma, and ends a little farther to the northward in deep water. At sun-rise the islands bore as follows:

Wowcan, -	distant	5 miles -	S. S. E. ¼ E.
Selma, - -	do.	3 do. -	S.
Megaida, - -	do.	4 do. -	S. W. ½ S.
Zober, - -	do.	4 do. -	W. by S. ¼ S.
Racka, - -	do.	5 do. -	N. N. W.
Fursh, - -	do.	4 do. -	N. W. by N. ¼ N.

These islands lie in a semicircle round this shoal.

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There were no breakers upon it, the sea being so perfectly calm. I suppose if there had been wind, it would have broken upon it, as I certainly saw it do before we struck; between Megaida and Zober is a small sharp rock above the surface of the sea.

We got under sail at six in the morning, but the wind was very fast decaying, and soon after fell dead-calm. Towards eleven, as usual, it freshened, and almost at due north. At noon, I found our latitude to be 15° 29′ 33″ north, from which we had the following bearings:

Selma,	- distant	-	5 miles,	-	S. E. ½ S.
Megaida,	do.	- -	4 do.	-	S. S. E.
Zober,	- do.	- -	2 do.	-	S.
Dubia,	- do.	- -	5 do.	-	W. by S. ¼ S.
Racka,	- do.	- -	1 do.	-	N. W.
Beyoume,	do.	- -	5 do.	-	N. W. by N.
Cigala,	- do.	- -	6 do.	-	N.
Fursh,	- do.	- -	3 do.	-	N. E. by N. ¼ N.

—and the rocks upon which we struck, E. by S. ½ S. something less than five miles off.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we saw land, which our pilot told us was the south end of Dahalac. It bore west by south, and was distant about nine leagues. As our course was then west by north, I found that we were going whither I had no intention to land, as my agreement was to touch at Dahalac el Kibeer, which is the principal port, and on the south end of the island, where the India ships formerly used to resort, as there is deep water, and plenty of sea-room between that and the main. But the freight of four sacks of dora, which did not amount to ten shillings, was sufficient to make the Rais break his word, and run a risk of cancelling all the meritorious servi-

ces he had so long performed for me. So certain is it, that none of these people can ever do what is right, where the smallest trifle is thrown into the scale to bias them from their duty.

At six in the evening we anchored near a small island, called Racka Garbia, or West Racka, in four fathom of stoney ground. By a meridian latitude of Lucida Aquilæ, I concluded the latitude to be 15° 31′ 30″ north, and our bearing as follows:

Dallacken, -	distant,	3 miles,	- N. E. ¾ E.
Dalgrousht, -	do. -	5 do.	- S. E. by E. ½ S.
Dellesheb, -	do. -	6 do.	- E. N. E. ¾ E.
Dubia, - -	do.	11 do.	- E. by S. ½ S.
Racka Garbia,	do. -	2 do.	- S. W. by W. ¼ S.

On the 13th, a little after sun-rise, we continued our course west, and a very little southerly, with little wind. At eight o'clock we passed Dalgrousht, north by east about a league distance, and a new island, Germ Malco, west by north. At noon, I observed our latitude to be 15° 33′ 13″ north; and our bearings as follows:

Dallacken, -	distant, -	6 miles,	- E. by S.
Racka, - -	do. -	6 do.	- S. E. by S.
Germ Malco, -	do. -	6 do.	- S. S. W.
Dalgrousht, -	do. -	4 do.	- E. N. E.
Dennifarek, -	do. -	7 do.	- N. N. W.
Seide el Arabi,	do. -	4 do.	- W. by S.
Dahal Couss, -	do. -	9 do.	- N. W. by N.

The south cape of the island of Dahalac is called Ras Shouke, which, in Arabic, means the Cape of Thorns, because upon it are a quantity of sunt, or acacia, the thorny-tree which bears the gum-arabic.

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We continued our course along the east side of Dahalac, and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, saw Irwée, which is said to answer to the centre of the island. It bore then south-west of us four miles. We also saw two small islands, Tarza and Siah el Sezan: the first, north by west three miles; the second, north-east, by east, but something farther. After having again violently struck on the coral rocks in the entry, at sun-set we anchored in the harbour of Dobelew.

This harbour is in form circular, and sufficiently defended from all winds, but its entrance is too narrow, and within it is full of rocks. The bottom of the whole port is covered with large ramifications of white coral, with huge black stones; and I could nowhere observe there were above three fathom water, when it was full sea. The pilot, indeed, said, there were seven, or twelve at the mouth; but so violent a tide rushed in through the entrance, that no vessel could escape being driven upon the rocks; therefore I made no draught of it.

Dobelew is a village three miles south-west of the harbour. It consists of about eighty houses, built o stone drawn from the sea; these calcine like shells, and make good enough mortar, as well as materials for building before burning. All the houses are covered with bent-grass, like those of Arabia. The 17th, I got my large quadrant ashore, and observed the sun in the meridian in that village, and determined the lat. of its south-west extremity to be 15° 42′ 22″ north.

Irwée is a village still smaller than Dobelew, about four miles distant. From this observation, compared with our account, we computed the southern cape of Dahalac, called Ras Shouke, to be in lat. 15° 27′ 30″; and Ras Antalou, or the north cape, to be in lat. 15° 54′ 30″ north.

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The whole length of the island, whose direction is from north-west to south-east, is thirty-seven miles, and its greatest breadth eighteen, which did within a very little agree with the account the inhabitants gave us, who made its length indeed something more.

Dahalac is by far the largest island in the Red Sea, as none, that we had hitherto seen, exceeded five miles in length. It is low and even, the soil fixed gravel and white sand, mixed with shells and other marine productions. It is destitute of all sorts of herbage, at least in summer, except a small quantity of bent grass, just sufficient to feed the few antelopes and goats that are on the island. There is a very beautiful species of this last animal found here, small, short-haired, with thin black sharp horns, having rings upon them, and they are very swift of foot.

This island is, in many places, covered with large plantations of acacia trees, which grow to no height, seldom above eight feet, but spread wide, and turn flat at top, probably by the influence of the wind from the sea. Though in the neighbourhood of Abyssinia, Dahalac does not partake of its seasons: no rain falls here from the end of March to the beginning of October; but, in the intermediate months, especially December, January, and February, there are violent showers for twelve hours at a time, which deluge the island, and fill the cisterns so as to serve all next summer; for there are no hills nor mountains in Dahalac, and consequently no springs. These cisterns alone preserve the water, and of them there yet remain three hundred and seventy, all hewn out of the solid rock. They say these were the works of the Persians; it is more probable they were those of the first Ptolemies. But whoever were the constructors of these magnificent reservoirs, they were a very differrent people from those that now possess them, who

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have not industry enough to keep one of the three hundred and seventy clear for the use of man. All of them are open to every sort of animal, and half full of the filth they leave there, after drinking and washing in them. The water of Dobelew, and Irwée, tasted strong of musk, from the dung of the goats and antelopes, and the smell, before you drink it, is more nauseous than the taste; yet one of these cisterns, cleaned and shut up with a door, might afford them wholesome sweet water all the year over.

After the rains fall, a prodigious quantity of grass immediately springs up; and the goats give the inhabitants milk, which in winter is the principal part of their subsistence, for they neither plough nor sow. All their employment is to work the vessels which trade to the different parts of the coast. One half of the inhabitants is constantly on the Arabian side, and by their labour are enabled to furnish with * dora, and other provisions, the other half who stay at home; and when their time is expired, they are relieved by the other half, and supplied with necessaries in their turn. But the sustenance of the poorer sort is entirely shell and other fish. Their wives and daughters are very bold, and expert fisher-women. Several of them, entirely naked, swam off to our vessel before we came to an anchor, begging handfuls of wheat, rice, or dora. They are very importunate and sturdy beggars, and are not easily put off with denials. These miserable people, who live in the villages not frequented by barks from Arabia, are sometimes a whole year without tasting bread. Yet such is the attachment to the place of their nativity, they prefer living in this bare, barren, parched spot, almost in want of necessa-

* Millet, or Indian corn.

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ries of every kind, especially of these essential ones, bread and water, to those pleasant and plentiful countries on both sides of them. This preference we must not call strange, for it is universal. A strong attachment to our native country, whatever is its condition, has been impressed by Providence, for wise ends, in the breasts of all nations; from Lapland to the Line, you find it written precisely in the same character

There are twelve villages, or towns, in Dahalac, little different in size from Dobelew; each has a plantation of doom-trees round it, which furnish the only manufacture in the island. The leaves of this tree, when dried, are of a glossy white, which might very easily be mistaken for satin; of these they make baskets of surprising beauty and neatness, staining part of the leaves with red or black, and working them into figures very artificially. I have known some of these, resembling straw-baskets, continue full of water for twenty-four hours, without one drop coming through. They sell these at Loheia and Jidda, the largest of them for four commesh, or sixpence. This is the employment, or rather amusement, of the men who stay at home; for they work but very moderately at it, and all of them indeed take special care not to prejudice their health by any kind of fatigue from industry.

People of the better sort, such as the Shekh and his relations, men privileged to be idle, and never exposed to the sun, are of a brown complexion, not darker than the inhabitants of Loheia. But the common sort employed in fishing, and those who go constantly to sea, are not indeed black, but red, and little darker than the colour of new mahogany. There are, besides, blacks among them, who come from Arkeeko and the main land; but even these, upon marrying, grow less black in a generation.

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The inhabitants of Dahalac seemed to be a simple, fearful, and inoffensive people. It is the only part of Africa, or Arabia (call it which you please), where you see no one carry arms of any kind; neither gun, knife, nor sword, is to be seen in the hands of any man. Whereas, at Loheia, and on all the coast of Arabia, and more particularly at Yambo, every person goes armed; even the porters, naked, and groaning under the weight of their burden, and heat of the day, have yet a leather belt, in which they carry a crooked knife, so monstrously long, that it needs a particular motion and address in walking not to lame the bearer. This was not always the case at Dahalac: several of the Portuguese, on their first arrival here, were murdered: and the island often treated ill, in revenge, by the armaments of that nation. The men seem healthy. They told me they had no diseases among them, unless sometimes in spring, when the boats of Yemen and Jidda bring the small-pox among them, and very few escape with life that are infected. I could not observe a man among them that seemed to be sixty years old; from which I infer, they are not long livers; though the air should be healthy, as being near the channel, and as they have the north wind all summer, which moderates the heat.

Of all the islands we had passed on this side the channel Dahalac alone is inhabited. It depends, as do all the rest, upon Masuah, and is conferred, by a firman from the Grand Signior, on the Basha of Jidda; and, from him, on Metical Aga, then on the Naybe and his servants. The present governor's name was Hagi Mahomet Abd-el-cader, of whom I have before spoken, as having sailed from Jidda to Masuah before me, where he did me all the disservice in his power, and nearly procured my assassination. The revenue of this governor consists in a goat brought to

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him monthly by each of the twelve villages. Every vessel, that puts in there for Masuah, pays him also a pound of coffee, and every one from Arabia a dollar, or pataka. No sort of small money is current at Dahalac, excepting Venetian glass-beads, old and new, of all sizes and colours, broken and whole.

Although this is the miserable state of Dahalac at present, matters were widely different in former times. The pearl fishery flourished greatly here under the Ptolemies; and even long after, in the time of the Caliphs, it produced a great revenue; and till the sovereigns of Cairo, of the present miserable race of slaves, began to withdraw themselves from their dependency on the Porte (for even after the reign of Selim, and the conquests of Arabia, under Sinan Basha, the Turkish gallies were still kept up at Suez, whilst Masuah and Suakem had Bashas), Dahalac was the principal island that furnished the pearl-fishers, or divers. It was, indeed, the chief port for the fishery on the southern part of the Red Sea, as Suakem was on the north; and the Basha of Masuah passed part of every summer here, to avoid the heat at his place of residence on the Continent.

The fishery extended from Dahalac and its islands nearly to lat. 20°. The inhabited islands furnished each a bark, and so many divers, and they were paid in wheat, flour, &c. such a portion to each bark, for their use, and so much to leave with their family, for their subsistence; so that a few months employment furnished them with every thing necessary for the rest of the year. The fishery was rented, in latter times, by the Basha of Suakem, but there was a place between Suakem, and the supposed river Frat, in lat. 21° 28′ north, called Gungunnah, which was reserved to the Grand Signioı in particular, and a special officer was appointed to receive the pearls on the spot,

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and send them to Constantinople. The pearls found there were of the largest size, and inferior to none in water or roundness. Tradition says, that this was, exclusively, the property of the Pharaohs; by which is meant, in Arabian manuscripts, the old kings of Egypt before Mahomet *.

In the same extent, between Dahalac and Suakem, was another very valuable fishery, that of tortoises †, from which the finest shells of that kind were produced; and a great trade was carried on with the East Indies, (China especially) at little expence, and with very considerable profits. The animal itself (the turtle) was in great plenty, between lat. 18° and 20°, in the neighbourhood of those low sandy islands, laid down in my chart.

The India trade flourished exceedingly at Suakem and Masuah, as it had done in the prosperous time of the Caliphs. The Banians, (then the only traders from the East Indies) being prohibited by the Mahometans to enter the Holy Land of the Hejaz, carried all their vessels to Konfodah in Yemen, and from these two ports, had, in return, at the first hand, pearls, tortoise-shell, which sold for its weight of gold, in China; Tibbar, or pure gold of Senaar, (that from Abyssinia being less so) elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns for turning, plenty of gum Arabic, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, and many other precious articles; these were all bartered, at Masuah and Suakem, for India goods. But nothing which violence and in-

* The word, *Pi-ouro* and *Ph-ouro*, "the king," was applied by the native Egyptians to both the Ptolemies and the Cæsars. Cæsar is so translated every where in the Coptic New Testament. The plural is *ni-ouroou*, "kings;" *ti-ouro*, is a queen; and *metouro*, a kingdom.—E.

† See the article Tortoise, in the Appendix.

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justice can ruin, ever can subsist under Turkish government. The Bashas, paying dearly for their confirmation at Constantinople, and uncertain if they should hold this office long enough to make reimbursements for the money they had already advanced, had not patience to stay till the course of trade gradually indemnified them, but, proceeding from extortion to extortion, they at last became downright robbers, seizing the cargo of the ships wherever they could find them, and exercising the most shocking cruelties on the persons they belonged to, flaying the factors alive, and impaling those that remained in their hands, to obtain, by terror, remittances from India. The trade was thus abandoned, and the revenue ceased. There were no bidders at Constantinople for the farm; nobody had trade in their heads, when their lives were every hour in danger. Dahalac became therefore dependent on the Basha of Jidda, and he appointed an Aga *, who paid him a moderate sum, and appropriated to himself the provisions and salary allowed for the pearl fishery, or the greatest part of them.

The Aga at Suakem endeavoured, in vain, to make the Arabs and people near him work without salary; they abandoned an employment which produced nothing but punishment; and, in time, they grew ignorant of the fishery, in which they had once been so well skilled, and had been educated. This great nursery of seamen, therefore, being lost, and the gallies, being no longer properly manned, were either allowed to rot, or turned into merchant ships, for carrying the coffee between Yemen and Suez; these vessels were unarmed, and indeed incapable of armament, and un-

* A Subaltern Governor.

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serviceable by their construction ; besides, they were ill manned, and so carelessly and ignorantly navigated, that there was not a year, that one or more did not founder, not from stress of weather, (for they were sailing in a pond) or from any thing but ignorance, and inattention.

Trade resumed its ancient course towards Jidda. The Sherriffe of Mecca, and all the Arabs, were interested to get it back to Arabia, and with it the government of their own countries. That the pearl-fishing might, moreover, no longer be an allurement to the Turkish power to maintain itself here, and oppress them, they discouraged the practice of diving, till it grew into desuetude; this brought insensibly all the people of the islands to the continent, where they were employed in coasting-vessels, which continues to be their only occupation to this day. This policy succeeded ; the princes of Arabia became again free from the Turkish power, now a shadow, and Dahalac, Masuah, and Suakem, returned to their ancient masters, to whom they are subject at this instant, preserving only the name of Turkish power, each being under the command of a robber and assassin.

The immense treasures in the bottom of the Red Sea, have thus been abandoned for near two hundred years, though, in all probability, they were never richer than at present. No nation can now turn them to any profit, but the English East India Company, more intent on multiplying the number of their enemies, and weakening themselves by spreading their inconsiderable force over new conquests, than creating additional profit by engaging in new articles of commerce. A settlement upon the river Frat, which never yet has belonged to any but wandering Arabs, would open them a market both for coarse and fine goods, from the southern frontiers of Mo-

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rocco, to Congo and Angola, and set the commerce of pearls and tortoise-shell on foot again. All this section of the Gulf from Suez, as I am told, is in their charter; and twenty ships might be employed on the Red Sea, without any violation of territorial claims. The myrrh, the frankincense, some cinnamon, and great variety of drugs are all in the possession of the weak king of Adel, an usurper, tyrant, and Pagan, without protection, and willing to trade with any superior power, that only would secure him a miserable livelihood.

If this does not take place, I am persuaded the time is not far off, when these countries shall, in some shape or other, be subject to a new master. Were another Peter, another Elizabeth, or, better than either, another Catherine, to succeed the present, in an empire already extended to China; were such a sovereign, unfettered by European politics, to prosecute that easy task of pushing those mountebanks of sovereigns and statesmen, these stage-players of government, the Turks, into Asia, the inhabitants of the whole country, who in their hearts look upon her already as their sovereign, because she is the head of their religion, would, I am persuaded, submit without a blow, that instant the Turks were removed to the other side of the Hellespont.

There are neither horses, dogs, sheep, cows, nor any sort of quadruped, but goats, asses, a few half-starved camels and antelopes at Dahalac, which last are very numerous. The inhabitants have no knowledge of fire-arms, and there are no dogs, nor beasts of prey in the island to kill them; they catch, indeed, some few of them in traps.

On our arrival at Dahalac, on the 14th of September, we saw swallows there; and, on the 16th, they were all gone. On our landing at Masuah, on the

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19th, we saw a few; the 21st and 22d they were in great flocks; on the 2d of October they were all gone. It was the blue long-tailed swallow, with the flat head; but there was, likewise, the English martin, black, and darkish grey in the body, with a white breast.

The language of Dahalac is that of the Shepherds*; Arabic, too, is spoken by most of them. From this island we see the high mountains of Habesh, running in an even ridge like a wall, parallel to the coast, and down to Suakem.

Before I leave Dahalac, I must observe, that, in a wretched chart, in the hands of some of the English gentlemen at Jidda, there were soundings marked all along the east coast of this island, from thirteen to thirty fathoms, within two leagues of the shore. Now, the islands I have mentioned occupy a much larger space than that; yet none of them are set down in the chart; and, where the soundings are marked thirty, forty, and even ninety fathom, all is full of shoals under water, with islands, and sunken coral rocks, some of them near the surface, though the breakers do not appear upon them, partly owing to the waves being steadied by the violence of the current, and somewhat kept off by the island. This dangerous error is, probably, owing to the draughts being composed from different journals, where the pilot has had different ways of measuring his distance; some using forty-two feet to a thirty-second glass, and some twenty-eight, both of them being considered as one competent divi-

* The meaning of this term, which rather occurs too often in these travels, and in too vague a sense, is people not of Arabic descent, but, like the Bedowin Arabs, wandering up and down with their herds and flocks, like the Jewish Patriarchs.

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sion of a degree; the distances are all too short, and the soundings, and every thing else, consequently out of their places.

Whoever has to navigate in the Abyssinian side of the channel, will do well to pass the island Dahalac on the east side, or, at least, not approach the outmost island, Wowcan, nearer than ten leagues; but keeping about twelve leagues meridian distance west of Jibbel Teir, or near mid-channel between that and the island, they will then be out of danger; being between lat. 15° 20′ and 15° 40′, which last is the latitude, as I observed, of Saiel Noora, and which is the northern island, we saw, three leagues off Ras Antalou, the northmost cape of Dahalac.

Both at our entering into the port of Dobelew on the 14th, and our going out of it on the 17th, we found a tide running like a sluice, which we apprehended, in spite of our sails being full, would force us out of our course upon the rocks. I imagine it was then at its greatest strength, it being now near the equinoctial full moon. The channel between Terra Firma and the island being very narrow, and the influence of the sun and moon then nearly in the equator, had occasioned this unusual violence of the tide, by forcing a large column of water through so narrow a space.

On the 17th, after we had examined our vessel, and found she had received no damage, and provided water (bad as it was) for the remainder of our voyage, we sailed from Dobelew, but, the wind being contrary, we were obliged to come to an anchor, at three quarters past four o'clock, in ten fathom water, about three leagues from that port, which was to the south-west of us; the bearings and distance are as follows:

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Derghiman Kibeer,	distant	10	miles,	W. S. W.
Deleda,	-	do.	7	do.	W. by N.
Saiel Sezan,	-	do.	4	do.	S. E.
Zeteban,	-	do.	5	do.	N. E.
Dahalac,	-	do.	12	do.	S. S. W.
Dahalhalem,	-	do.	12	do.	N. W. by N.

On the 18th, we sailed, standing off and on, with a contrary wind at north-west, and a strong current in the same direction. At half past four in the morning, we were forced to come to an anchor. There is here a very shallow and narrow passage, which I sounded myself in the boat, barely one and a half fathom, or nine feet of water, and we were obliged to wait the filling of the tide. This is called the Bogaz, which signifies, as I have before observed, the narrow and shallow passage. It is between the island of Dahalac and the south point of the island of Noora, about forty fathom broad, and, on each side, full of dangerous rocks. The island then bore,

Derghiman Seguier,	distant	3	miles,	S. W.
Derghiman Kibeer,	-	do.	5	do.	S.
Dahalhalem,	-	do.	4	do.	E. N. E.
Noora,	- -	do.	2	do.	N. E. by N.

The tide now entered with an unusual force, and ran more like the Nile, or a torrent, or stream conducted to turn a mill, than the sea, or the effects of a tide. At half past one o'clock, there was water enough to pass, and we soon were hurried through it by the violence of the current, driving us in a manner truly tremendous.

At half after three, we passed between Ras Antalou, the north cape of Dahalac, and the small island Dahalottom, which has some trees upon it. On this

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island is the tomb of Shekh * Abou Gafar, mentioned by Poncet, in his voyage, who mistakes the name of the saint for that of the island. The strait between the cape and the island is a mile and a half broad. At four in the afternoon, we anchored near a small island called Surat. All between this and Dahalac, there is no water exceeding seven fathom, till you are near Dahalac Kibeer, whose port has water for large vessels, but is open to every point, from south-west to north-west, and has a great swell.

All ships coming to the westward of Dahalac had better keep within the island Drugerut, between that and the main, where there is plenty of water, and room enough to work, though, even here, there are islands a-head; and clear weather, as well as a good look-out, will always be necessary.

On the 19th of September, at three quarters past six in the morning, we sailed from our anchorage, near Surat. At a quarter past nine, Dargeli, an island with trees upon it, bore N. W. by W. two miles and a half distant; and Drugerut three leagues and a half north and by east, when it fell calm.

At eleven o'clock, we passed the island of Dergaiham, bearing N. by east, three miles distant, and at five in the afternoon we came to an anchor in the harbour of Masuah, having been seventeen days † on our passage, including the day we first went on board, though this voyage, with a favourable wind, is generally made in three days; it often has, indeed, been sailed in less.

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* Poncet's Voyage, translated into English, printed for W. Lewis in 1709, in 12mo, p. 121.

† This must not be attributed wholly to the weather. We spent much time in surveying the islands and in observation.

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The reader will observe, that many of the islands begin with Dahal, and some with Del, which last is only an abbreviation of the former, and both of them signify island, in the language of Beja, otherwise called Geez, or the language of the Shepherds. Massowa, too, though generally spelled in the manner I have here expressed it, should properly be written Masuah, which is the harbour, or water, of the Shepherds. Of this nation, so often mentioned already in this work, as well as the many other tribes less powerful and numerous than they that inhabit the countries between the tropics, or frontiers of Egypt and the Line, it will be necessary now to speak in some detail, although the connection they all have with the trade of the Red Sea, and with each other, will oblige me to go back into very early times, to the invention of letters, and all the useful arts, which had their beginning here, were carefully nourished, and came probably to as great a perfection as they have ever since arrived at in any other period.

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APPENDIX

TO

BOOK I.

No. I.

Description of the Canja, or Boat of the Nile, by Luigi Balugani.

[*The beginning of the paper wanting.*]

* * * * * * Il Bastimento del Nilo a Vele Latine de una mostruosa grandezza; la maestra delle quali monta alla lunghezza di 120 Piedi, e questa in proporzione non è delle piu grandi che usano in simiglianti Bastimenti. Si regola il camino di questo Bastimento mediante un Timone a popa di circa 7 piedi di largo: questo è tanto largho affine di tagliare la corrente del Nilo che in alcuni luoghi è rappidissimo, e la vela è di tale grandezza affine di vincere la stessa corrante, montandolo senza la quale certo non si potrebbe far camino. E però a dire una cossa che quando il vento di Nord soffia impetuosamente è assai imprudente far uso di essa, ma in tal caso si fà uso semplicemente del altra piccola situata alla Proa che sí chiama trinchetto, e con questa non si camina velocemente, ma tanto che basta però: e meglio è caminare poco che rischiare di essere roversciati e

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sommersi, come molte volte avviene per l' imprudenza de Capitani che lo guidano.

Spesse volte questi Bastimenti investono la terra dove si trovano bassi fondi: ma in questi casi non è periculoso, se il vento non è impetuosissimo, poiche subito si piega la vela; oppure scambiano direzione al corso intorno della sicca senza soffrire nessuno danno, poiche il fundo del fiume è tutto fangoso e arrenoso, senza che in esso vi se trova una sola piccola pietra della grandezza di un pane.

Nostra navigatione non si può contare delle piu felici, poichè dalli dodichi non siamo giunti a Farsciutt che il giorno 27 del sud° mese. Vero è che siamo arrestati quattro giorni alla strada per nostra elezione; cio non ostante la navigazione solevita di Cairo o sia di Bulacco a Farsciutt si puo fare commodamente in sette giorni, e noi ne abbiamo impiegati undieci.

Giunti à Farsciutt siamo andati a loggiare nell' ospizio de P. P Missionarii riformati. Farsoiutt è la ressidenza di un Grande chiamato Scieck Amam l' Arabe che releva del Cairo; cioè tutto l' Egitto, o per meglio dire gran parte dell' Egitto superiore e sogetto ad esso. Lui ne ritiri il Miri o siano le dogane, e paga una somma annualmente in Cairo di grande considerazione.

Tutto il Bastimento da popa a proa è P. 60, 2 polici; da popa al centro del albero maestro, P. 27, 5; dal centro di quest' albero al centra dell' altro 28. 9. e di qui alla proa P. 4.

La larghezza totale presa traverso nel centro dell' albero maestro, P. 10. 4. Le sponde del bastimento do popa per sino al albero maestro sono un piede piu alte del resto di bordi, e cosi lo sono pure, P. 9. o 10 a proa. Il ponte resta P. 2. 3 polici piu basso che li bordi nella parte piu bassa. Questo pero non e tutto intiero ma resta aperto per sette piede di quà e di là dell albero di maestra.

L' albero di maestra e alto 41 piede sopra il ponte del bastimento, e tiene una piccola inclinazione verso la proa. L'-albero di proa è due terzi in circa di quello di maestro. La verga della gran vela è lunga 115 piedi in circa, e l' altra del trinchetto 70 piede in circa.

L'albero tiene sette bracci per ogni parte che lo rengono dritto in suo luogho: questi sono tutti attacati a tanti anelli

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di ferro disposti a livello del ponte, e conficati nella guida orizontale de Bordi del bastimento, in distanza di 9 in dieci polici uno dall' altro, il primo de quali è un piede incirca più verso la proa che non è il centro del bastimento ; questi bracci tutti si uniscono intorno l'albero di maestra e sono fortimente legati un piede piu basso di sua somità.

C'd'avertire che questi bracci nella parte inferiore non sono immediamente fermati a questi annelli di ferro, ma vi sono a un per uno delle traglie che li tendono fortemente. Oltre li suddetti bracchi vi è due grosse corde fortemente arrestate, un piede e mezzo più basso della somità dell' albero, e che mediante delle traglie che sono arrestate sopra il centro di un altra grossa corda, che è arrestata di qua e di là della camera mediante annelli come le altre suddette che passa sopra la camera med. Vicino all' estremità dell' albero vi sono due aperture che contengono due girelle per le quali passa una grossa corda che sostiene la gran verga dalla parte che riguarda la proa ; e dalla parte oposta sono portate a basso fino all' luogo dove sono arrestati li altri bracci, e fermate della medes. maniera, giusto nella linea transversale che passa per il centro del Albero. L'Albero di proa avera in circa 6, o, 7 piede di inclinazione ; esso non tiene che due bracci, al e due corde che portano la verga del trinchetto, quali sono colocate, superioremente della med. maniera delle altre, e da basso sono fermate con traglie alle sponde della proa nella stessa linea che passa transversalmente al centro dell' Albero medesimo.

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No. II.

Short Abstract of the principal Dates, &c. in the Narrative of Mr Bruce's Journies, written by himself, from Tuesday, December 13, 1768, *till his Arrival at Masuah; taken from his Pocket or Common-place Books, No.* 1, 2, *and* 3.

Egypt, Tuesday, Dec. 13th 1768, This day, about 9 o'clock, began to draw the boat with the cord, the wind being contrary. Wednesday, 14th, All night at the Coptic convent. Miserable cottages of the villages shaded by palm trees. Shekh Atman, river here not ½, but about a quarter of a mile broad. Palm trees down to the coast. Observed fishers on the Nile for first time. Dec. 15, Souf el Woodan. Nile here a quarter of a mile broad; 3 feet deep. At Nizelet Embarak and Niselet Ammer, all the country cultivated; fine black earth and little sand. Staid all the 16th in the neighbourhood of Comadreedy. 17th, Sought an observation, but weather would not allow. Monday, 19th, Passed Elkerm. At Shekh Abady, ruins of a temple, apparently of good architecture. Sakies, or Persian wheels, used to water sugar-canes. Observation of lat. on the 19th and on the 20th. On 21st, at Gawa, first saw true Egyptian architecture; a small building of three columns in front, with capitals entire, and one column of several pieces covered with hieroglyphics. River at Fressia ¾ mile broad. Reached Ackmim on 22d at night. Eclipse of the moon could not be seen. At Ackmim the river ¼ or nearly ½ mile broad; current not strong. Women here ordinarily marry before 12, and after that age not; they are liker a corpse than a bride. I did not observe that the men were less vigorous for that. Arrival at Furshout on the 27th. Description of it, &c. &c.

"January 5th 1769, arrived at Dendera. Description

of the temples there. Stone from the neighbouring mountains. Quantity and solidity, the only properties considered in these buildings. Could discern nothing resembling the Tuscan order here, or in any other part of Egypt. The utmost care, perseverance, and expedition, would not copy all the architecture here, and the hieroglyphics, in six months. Here first saw the doom trees in quantity. The rubbish and vestiges of the town, now destroyed, extends two miles N. E. along the Nile. Ancient Thebes comprehended a large tract along the river, to the foot of the mountains, extending S. W. of Medinet Tabou. Shaamy and Taamy, probably Nilometers in the midst of the town. Description of El Gourni, and other villages, in which are temples. Hills all bare and desert, cut into grottos at the back of the town. We were attacked by the Sepulchre Arabs, and, but for me, would have been murdered. Two and one-half miles from El Gourni are the sepulchres of ancient Thebes. Long description of these. Sarcophagi of prodigious blocks of granite. All these sepulchres entered stooping downwards. Doors all gone. Colours in stucco. Number of figures or hieroglyphics immense. I copied, in one of the chambers, a man playing on the harp; there are two figures, one has ten strings to his instrument, and the other eighteen. There are fourteen sepulchres, all out of the stony mountains, and of different forms and plans. Their roofs vaulted. No attempt at the arch: But the flat stones are joined one with another, in a very artful manner. Saw nothing relating to astronomy, nor any thing in the least adopted by the Greeks in their architecture, except, at Shaamy and Taamy, a capital, with a flower, as in the head of Isis, and below it stalks, out of which proceed flowers, like the acanthus in the Corinthian order; like, however, as to situation only, for the flowers have no resemblance. Beeban el Melouk, gates of the kings. Luxor and Carnac. Full of temples. Two obelisks at Luxor. At Cus, vast row of sphinxes; heads of these all broken. On outside of the walls, at Carnac and Luxor, observed new subjects of hieroglyphics, battles, men, horses, and chariots, also the short javelin, still in use. Passed three nights at (Diospolis) Luxor and Carnac, in observation.

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Left Luxor, January 17th. Nile there ¼ mile broad or more. Ground still measured along the river there. Returned back from Luxor."

Mr Bruce, or at least L. Balugani, was at Bajoura, January 22d, 23d, 27th, 31st, and February 12th. (See observations of longitude and latitude of all these dates, in Vol. VII. of this work.) There is no journal, except of these observations, during these dates, nor until the 16th of March 1769. In this pocket-book, from which the above dates are taken, may be found almost all the topics of local observation on places and manners, which are inserted in this work; but no speeches or accounts of individuals. The same book continues the narrative of the journey to Cosseir. The dates follow:

"Thursday, 16th March 1769, set out from Kenna. 17th, At eight o'clock, near Kuft. Atouni and Ababdé Arabs. On first day's journey to Leegata, saw plenty of the Gatta bird. All 18th at Leegata. 19th, Saw on our way, in El Hamra, the porphyry, and many other kinds of marble. 20th, Left Main el Mafarek. 21st, Left Koraim. At twelve o'clock, reached Mesag el Tarfowey; rest of the day there. 22d, At ½ past one in the morning, left Tarfowey. At ten, first view of the Red Sea. At 11¼ o'clock, Cosseir. Here very long descriptions of Cosseir—the marble mountains—the features, manners, dress, arms, of the Ababdé Arabs—the bleak stony aspect of the country—the shores of the Red Sea.—Of its fish and shells—the large oysters or bisser—the deek emtal bahar—the cadranne—the psaily—numerous petrifactions and shells—surrumbac, &c. &c. Great storms in the Red Sea while we were at Cosseir. One of these began on the 31st March, at one in the morning*.

"On the 4th April 1769, went on foot to Old Cosseir, El Kedem. The rocks here are all the work of the sea, and, though now grown to the hardness of flint, may be

* In 1769, the 16th of February and the 16th of March, were both on Thursday. Mr Bruce has inattentively confounded these dates. He set out, as is evident from dates and facts in the journals, from Kenna on the 16th day of March.

seen to be but a composition of madrepores and broken shells, and marine productions; in particular, we see large shells of surrumbac and bisser, ten or twelve inches in length, buried quite entire in the rock, preserving their colour and form, though the rock be of the hardest stone imaginable."

For observations of latitude and longitude at Cosseir, March 26th, and April 5th, 1769, see in Vol. VII.

"Sailed from Cosseir, April 11th, (it is written March, which is evidently an error.) Morning of the 14th, in Gulf Hamra—anchored at Gidee or Giden. A violent storm about this time, and many vessels dispersed or lost. On the morning of the 17th April, passed Jibbel Hassan. Arrival at Imbo. Description of Yimbo. Route of the Hadjé. History of the Sheriffe's family and dominions. Of the small-pox in Arabia. Facts respecting polygamy in Arabia. Proportion of males and females, &c."

A great part of this pocket-book, towards the end, is occupied by these subjects.

As I have not Balugani's journal at hand, (extracts from it excepted) I cannot state precisely the stations on the different days, from April 11th, when they sailed from Cosseir, till they arrived at Imbo. The weather was stormy. The ship was bound for the Arabian shore, but was driven considerably to the north, though I do not observe that she touched Cape Mahomet. Nor have I found the observation mentioned in No. XXVII. of the Appendix to Vol. I. They reached Dar el Hamra on the 14th, and anchored in Gidee; this place is near Jibbel Shekh, on the Arabian coast. They anchored every night. Jibbel Hassan is the isle called Hassan, or Hassane, on the maps. Probably the 17th ought to be corrected 15th. They anchored at Har, in the map incorrectly spelt Mhar, on the night of the 15th. On the 16th, they anchored before Imbo.

April 28, 1769, At seven o'clock in the morning, we embarked at Imbo, in a little ship, commanded by a Shekh Shehrie. This is the first entry in Balugani's Viaggio di Imbo a Gedda. May 3d, At 4 P. M. we

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have anchored in the port of Jidda, entering by N. E *.

Mr Bruce had observations of latitude and longitude at Imbo, April 22d and 23d.

He remained at Jidda from the 3d of May 1769, till the 8th of July, something more than two months. The narrative in the pocket-journal is not in a regular form, and makes no mention of the occurrences there during each day. Almost all the topics and descriptions in the printed work, under that period, are found. Among others, "June 13th," The Sheriffe is encamped at Recamy, 16 miles from Jidda. Since the 10th of May the weather at Jidda has been very fine. The 7th of June, about 8 in the morning, saw a meteor at Jidda.

Mr Bruce had observations of latitude or longitude at Jidda, May 7th, 8th, 9th, June 24th, July 2d and 3d. See these in Vol. VII.

The journal kept by Mr Bruce himself, from leaving Jidda, till arriving at Loheia, is not regular. Balugani's Viaggio di Gidda a Loheia, like his Viaggio de Cosseir a Imbo ed a Gidda, is perfectly complete, and corresponds with the accounts above given.

The dates in the voyage from Jidda to Loheia are the same as are printed. They sailed along the coast, and took plans of every considerable harbour which they passed. Balugani made out plans of Rabac, Confoda, Sibt, road of Shekh Omar, Nohoude, Ras Heli, Jibel Zeeran, Jibbel Suryne, the Abeled Isles, the rock Cotumbal, Jibel Wusan, Jibel Foran, Jibbel Dureghi, the road of Goofs, and several other ports and islands.

Mr Bruce arrived at Loheia on the 18th of July, where he remained till his departure for Abyssinia. He made observations of latitude or longitude there, July 21st, 26th, August 5th, 18th, 21st, 25th, 26th, 27th, which see

* The date of departure from Jidda, in Balugani's journal, is Luglio, 1769, Sabbatto 8°, and of arrival at Loheia, Martedi Luglio 18th, 1769, a 8 ore. The departure from Loheia was Venerdi, 1° Settbre, à 6 ore, sera. The arrival at Masuah, Martedi 19 Settre. a 5 ore sera.

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in Vol. VII. Balugani's journal of this period is complete.

He left Loheia on the 1st of September 1769. The following extracts in Italian, from Balugani's regular journal of every day, may amuse the reader.

Giornale del Viaggio fatto di Loheia à Massoua.

Venerd i p mo di Sett^{bre}. Siamo andati a bordo circa le 6 ore della sera.

Sabbato, 2° Siamo restati a bordo, tutto il giorno senza far camino.

Dom^{ca} 3° Alle 11 ore $\frac{1}{2}$ anno cominciato a tirarsi in fuori con la gomena andando per W. fino alle 3 della sera. Loheia restava per N.

* * * * * *

Mercordi, 6. A 4 ore dato fondo a Foosht in 2 braccia di aqua, ma poco piu fuori vi sono 4, o, 5 ancora. Altura osservata 15° 59′ 43″.

* * * *

Venerdi, 8° 1, sera. N. Dato fondo a Zimmer. questa isola è coperta di piccole piante, e vi sono alcuni alberi di Saial, o sia Salam come viene chiamato dagli Arabi di questo paese. Qui abbiamo fatto legna per il bastimento. Altura osservata 16° 6′ 20″. A 12 ore.

Foosht p. S. E. 6 migl.
Ardaina N. E. b. E. 5 migl.
Zimmer N. 6 migl.
Rapha N. W. b. N. 7 migl.

Sabbato 9° N. W. b. N. abbiamo fatto vela nella notte ma con pochissimo vento.

Alt. osservata. 16° 10′ 13″
detto - 15° 52′ 25″

* * * * * * * * * *

Mercordi, 13° 6^{1} sera. Abbiamo dato fondo a Daha-

leck nel porto di Debeloù, e assai stretta, e vi sono molti scogli: E noi dentro il porto stesso abbiamo toccato uno scoglio assai pericolosamente. In tutto il porto non vi sono più che 3 braccia di aqua. Altura osservata 15° 33′ 13″.

A 12 ore la positione della isola era ritrovata come seque.

A 12 ore.
- Dalacken per E. b. S. 6 miglia.
- Racco S. E. b. E. 6 miglia.
- Germ Mateò, S. S. W. 6 miglia.
- Dalgrousht, E. N. E. 4 miglia.
- Dennifarik, N. N. W.
- Ras el Shouke, S. W. 8 miglia.
- Saie el Arabi, W. b. S. 4 miglia.

Settbre

Giovedi 14° Siamo andato a terra al villagio Debeloù.

15° Abbiamo preso l'altura del Sole e ritrovato detto villagio a Gradi 15, 42′ 22″ di latitudine.

Sabbato 16° Avanti levare il Sole siamo andati a bordo e restati fermi nel porto fino al giorno seguente.

Domen. 17. d° $6\frac{1}{4}$. N. E. tirandosi fuori del porto con la sciluppa 7 ore dato fondo per scambare il corso a 3 miglia dal porto.

7ʳ W. N. W. tirando con la gomena.

* * * *

Martedi, 19. d° 5 ore. W. b. N. Massoua.

Altura 15° 35′ 5″.

Longᵉ 36° 23′ 45″.

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No. III.

Letter from Mr Bruce to Dr Burney, on Egyptian and Abyssinian Music *.

Dear Sir,

Kinnaird, October 20. 1774.

I have employed the first leisure that bad weather has enabled me to steal from the curiosity and kindness of my friends, to make you two distinct drawings of the musical instruments you desired of me. I sit down now to give you some particulars relative to them, and to other instruments of less consequence, which I found in my voyage in Abyssinia to the fountains of the Nile.

I need not tell you that I shall think myself overpaid, if this, or any thing else in my power, can be of service to you, or towards the history of a science which I have always cultivated, with more application than genius; and to which I

* This letter, the first publication to which Mr Bruce affixed his name, is copied from Dr Burney's *General History of Music*, Vol. I. pp. 205, 214. It was addressed to that ingenious and elegant writer, for whom Mr Bruce had conceived a high esteem, soon after the traveller had arrived in his native country. It contains a minute description of the musical instruments used at present in Abyssinia, and might have resolved, in the most satisfactory manner, the doubts of those, had they been capable of examining the subject, who suspected the truth of his journey into that kingdom. It is placed here, on account of its relation to the travels in Egypt.—E.

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may say, however, that I owe some of the happiest moments of my life. I have kept both the lyre and harp of such a size, as not to exceed the bounds of a quarto page; but I hope you will find all the parts appear distinctly. I did not choose to embarrass the harp with the figure which is playing upon it, because this would necessarily conceal great part of the instrument; your business is with the instrument, not with the figure.

There are six musical instruments known in Abyssinia; the flute, the trumpet, the kettle-drum, the tambourine, the sistrum, and the lyre.

The four first are used in war; and are by much the most common; the fifth is dedicated to the service of the church; and the sixth is peculiarly an attendant on festivity and rejoicings.

There are two principal languages in Abyssinia; the Æthiopic, which is the literary or dead language; and the Amharic, or language of Amhara, spoken by the court.

The flute in the Æthiopic is called *kwetz*, a word difficult to be written or sounded in English; in the Amharic it is called *agădă;* it is about the shape and size of the German flute, but played upon long-ways, with a mouthpiece resembling that of the clarinet; its tone is loud, but accompanied with a kind of jar, like a broken hautbois; not owing to any accidental defect, but to construction and design, as it would not be esteemed without it.

The kettle-drum is called in both languages *nagareet*, because all proclamations are made by the sound of this drum (these are called *năgăr*); if made by governors they have the force of laws in their provinces; but if made by the king, they are for all Abyssinia. The kettle-drum is a mark of sovereign power: whenever the king promotes a subject to be governor, or his lieutenant-general in a province, he gives him a kettle-drum and standard as his investiture. The king has forty-five of these drums always beating before him when he marches. They are in shape and size like ours, only they are braced very disadvantageously; for the skin is strained over the outer rim, or lip of the drum, and brought a third down its outside, which deadens it exceedingly, and deprives it of that clear metallic sound, which ours has. Each man has but a

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single drum, upon the left side of his mule; and beats it with a crooked stick about three feet long. Upon the whole its sound is not disagreeable, and I have heard it at an incredible distance.

The third instrument is the small drum, called *kăbăro* in Æthiopic and Amharic; though in some parts of Amhara it is also called *hătămo*. It is about half the diameter, and twice the length, of our common drum; it is just the tambourine of Provence, only rounded to a point at the lower end. This is beaten always with the hand, and carried sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, when any inferior officer (not having a *nagareet*) marches.

The trumpet is called *mĕlĕkēta*, or *mĕlĕket*; and *kenet* in Amharic, but *keren* in Æthiopic (or horn); which shows of what materials it was anciently formed. It is now made of a cane that has less than half an inch aperture, and about five feet four inches in length. To this a long stalk is fixed at the end, a round piece of the neck of a gourd, which has just the form of the round end of our trumpet, and is on the outside ornamented with small white shells; it is all covered over with parchment, and is a very neat instrument. This trumpet sounds only one note, E, in a loud, hoarse, and terrible tone* It is played slow when on a march, or before an enemy appears in sight; but afterwards it is repeated very quick, and with great violence, and has the effect upon the Abyssinian soldiers of transporting them absolutely to fury and madness, and of making them so regardless of life, as to throw themselves into the middle of the enemy, which they do with great gallantry. I have often, in time of peace, tried what effect this charge would have upon them, and found that none who heard it could continue seated, but that all rose up, and continued the whole time in motion.

The fifth instrument is the *sistrum*; it is used in the quick measure, or in allegros of singing psalms of thanksgiving. Each priest has a *sistrum*, which he shakes in a

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* The trumpet is often called in Abyssinia, *nesser kano*, which seems to signify "the note of the eagle."—E.

very threatening manner at his neighbour, dancing, leaping, and turning round with such an indecent violence, that he resembles rather a priest of Paganism, whence this instrument was derived, than a Christian. I have forgot the name of the sistrum in Æthiopic, but on looking into my notes I shall find it.

The sixth and last instrument is the lyre, which is never played solo, but always in accompanying the voice, with which it plays constantly in unison; nor did I ever hear *music in parts* in any nation, savage or polished, out of Europe: this is the last refinement music received, after it was in possession of complete instruments, and it received it probably in Italy.

The lyre has sometimes five, sometimes six, but most frequently seven strings, made of the thongs of raw sheep or goat-skins, cut extremely fine and twisted; they rot soon, are very subject to break in dry weather, and have scarce any sound in wet. From the idea, however, of this instrument being to accompany and sustain a voice, one would think that it was better mounted formerly. The Abyssinians have a tradition, that the sistrum, lyre, and tambourine were brought from Ægypt into Æthiopia, by Thot, in the very first ages of the world. The flute, kettle-drum, and trumpet, they say, were brought from Palestine, with Menelek, the son of their queen of Saba, by Solomon, who was their first Jewish king.

The lyre in Amharic is called *bĕg* (the sheep); in Æthiopic it is called *mĕsĭnkō*; the verb *sinko* signifies to strike strings with the fingers: no *plectrum* is ever used in Abyssinia, so that *mesinko*, being literally interpreted, will signify *the stringed instrument played upon with the fingers*. This would seem as if anciently there was no other stringed instrument in Abyssinia, nor is there any other still.

Indeed the guitar is sometimes seen in the hands of the Mahometans, but they have brought it with them from Arabia, where they go every year for trade or devotion. This instrument having a neck, is from that circumstance surely modern. Necks were probably invented after strings of different lengths and sizes had been so multiplied upon the harp and lyre, that more could not be added without confusion. This improvement of producing seve-

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ral notes upon one string, by shortening it with the momentaneous pressure of the fingers, was then introduced, and left little more to do, besides the invention of the bow, towards bringing stringed instruments to their greatest perfection.

The sides which constitute the frame of the lyre were anciently composed of the horns of an animal of the goat kind, called agăzan, about the size of a small cow, and common in the province of Tigrē. I have seen several of these instruments very elegantly made of such horns, which nature seems to have shaped on purpose. Some of the horns of an African species of this animal, may be seen in M. Buffon's *History of the King of France's Cabinet*. They are bent, and less regular than the Abyssinian; but after fire-arms became common in the province of Tigrē, and the woods were cut down, this animal being more scarce, the lyre has been made of a light red wood: however, it is always cut into a spiral twisted form, in imitation of the ancient materials of which the lyre was composed. The drawing I send you was from one of these instruments made of wood *.

The kingdom of Tigrē, which is the largest and most populous province of Abyssinia, and was during many ages the seat of the court, was the first which received letters, and civil and religious government; it extended once to the Red Sea. Various reasons and revolutions have obliged the inhabitants to resign their sea coast to different barbarous nations, Pagan and Mahometan. While they were in possession of it, they say that the Red Sea furnished them with tortoise shells, of which they made the bellies of their lyres, as the Egyptians did formerly, according to Apollodorus and Lucian; but having now lost that resource, they have adopted in its place, a particular species of gourd, or pumpkin, very hard and thin in the bark, still imitating with the knife, the

* Vide Dr Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. I. Plate V. No. 6. —E.

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squares, compartments, and figure of the shell of the tortoise.

The lyre is generally from three feet to three feet six inches high; that is from a line drawn through the point of the horns, to the lower part of the base of the sounding board. It is exceedingly light and easy of carriage, as an instrument should naturally be in so rugged and mountainous a country.

When we consider the parts which compose this lyre, we cannot deny it the earliest antiquity. Man, in his first state, was a hunter and a fisher, and the oldest instrument was that which partakes most of that state. The lyre, composed of two principal pieces, owes the one to the horns of an animal, the other to the shell of a fish.

It is probable that the lyre continued with the Æthiopians, in this rude state, as long as they confined themselves to their rainy, steep, and rugged mountains; and that afterwards, when many of them descended along the Nile into Egypt, its portability would recommend it in the extreme heats and weariness of their way. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they took up their habitation in caves in the sides of mountains, which are inhabited to this day. Even in these circumstances, an instrument larger than the lyre must have been inconvenient, and liable to accidents, in these caverns; but when these people increased in numbers and courage, they ventured down into the plain, and built Thebes. Being now at their ease, and in a fine climate, all nature smiling round them, music and other arts were cultivated and refined, and the imperfect lyre was extended into an instrument of double its compass and volume. The size of the harp could be now no longer an objection; the Nile carried the inhabitants every where, easily, and without effort; and we may naturally suppose, in the fine evenings of that country, that the Nile was the favourite scene upon which this instrument was practised; at least, the sphinx and lotus upon its head, seem to hint that it was some way connected with the overflowings of that river.

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Behind the ruins of the Egyptian Thebes, and a very little to the N. W. of it, are a great number of mountains hollowed into monstrous caverns; the sepulchres, according to tradition, of the first kings of Thebes. The most considerable of these mountains, thus hollowed, contains a large sarcophagus of granite, of which the lid only is broken. Pococke, I think, (for though I have sometimes looked into him, I never could read him) was in this grotto, and slept here, I suppose; for he takes no notice of one of the few monuments from which we may guess at the former state of arts in Egypt.

In the entrance of the passage which leads, sloping gently down, into the chamber where is the sarcophagus, there are two pannels, one on each side; on that on the right is the figure of the Scarabaeus Thebaicus, supposed to have been the hieroglyphic of immortality; on the left is the crocodile, fixed upon the Apis, with his teeth, and plunging him into the waves: these are both moulded in basso-relievo in the stucco itself. This is a sufficient indication of the grotto, to any one who may wish to examine it again. At the end of the passage, on the left hand, is the picture of a man playing upon a harp, painted in fresco, and quite entire. He is clad in a habit made like a shirt, such as the women still wear in Abyssinia, and the men in Nubia. This seems to be white linen, or muslin, with narrow stripes of red. It reaches down to his ancles; his feet are without sandals, and bare; his neck and arms are also bare; his loose wide sleeves are gathered about his elbows; his head is close shaved; he seems a corpulent man, of about fifty years of age, in colour rather of the darkest for an Egyptian.

To guess by the detail of the figure, the painter should have had about the same degree of merit with a good sign-painter in Europe; yet he has represented the action of the musician in a manner never to be mistaken. His left hand seems employed in the upper part of the instrument among the notes in alto, as if in an arpeggio; while stooping forwards, he seems with his right hand to be beginning with the lowest string, and promising to ascend with the most rapid execution: this action, so obviously rendered by an indifferent artist, shews that it was

a common one in his time, or, in other words, that great hands were then frequent, and consequently that music was well understood, and diligently followed.

If we allow the performer's stature to be about five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp in its extreme length to be something less than six feet and a half. It seems to support itself in equilibrio on its foot or base, and needs only the player's guidance to keep it steady. It has thirteen strings; the length of these, and the force and liberty with which they are treated, show that they are made in a very different manner from those of the lyre.

This instrument is of a much more elegant form than the triangular Grecian harp. It wants the fore-piece of the frame, opposite to the lowest string, which certainly must have improved its tone, but must likewise have rendered the instrument itself weaker, and more liable to accidents, if carriage had not been so convenient in Egypt. The back part is the sounding board, composed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom; so that, as the length of the string increases, the square of the corresponding space, in the sounding board, in which the tone is to undulate, always increases in proportion.

Besides that the whole principles, upon which the harp is constructed, are rational and ingenious, the ornamental parts are likewise executed in the very best manner; the bottom and sides of the frame seem to be vaneered or inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring seas and deserts. It would be even now impossible to finish an instrument with more taste and elegance.

Besides the elegance of its outward form, we must observe likewise, how near it approached to a perfect instrument; for it wanted only two strings of having two complete octaves in compass. Whether these were intentionally omitted or not, we cannot now determine, as we have no idea of the music or taste of that time; but if the harp be painted in the proportions in which it was made, it might be demonstrated that it could scarce bear more than the thirteen strings with which it was furnished. Indeed the cross bar would break with the tension of the four

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longest, if they were made of the size and consistence, and tuned to the pitch, that ours are at present.

I look on this instrument, then, as the Theban harp, before and at the time of Sesostris, who adorned Thebes, and probably caused it to be painted there, as well as the other figures, in the sepulchre of his father, as a monument of the superiority which Egypt had in music at that time, over all the barbarous nations that he had seen or conquered.

Astronomy, and, as we may imagine, the other arts, made a rapid progress at this period in Upper Egypt, and continued to do so for fifty years after; between which time and the Persian conquest, some catastrophe must have happened that reduced them to the lowest ebb, which historians have mistaken for their first original.

We know, about the time of Sesostris, if, as Sir Isaac Newton supposes, this prince and Sesac were the same, that in Palestine the harp had only ten strings; but as David, while he played upon it, both danced and sung before the ark, it is plain that the instrument, on which he played, could have been but of small volume, we may suppose little exceeding in weight our guitar; though the origin of this harp was probably Egyptian, and from the days of Moses it had been degenerating in size, that it might be more portable in the many peregrinations of the Israelites.

The harp that approaches the nearest to this in antiquity, is represented on a basso-relievo, at Ptolemais in Cyrenaicum, a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and it is there twice represented.

It has fifteen strings, or two complete octaves; but the adding of these two notes has occasioned likewise the addition of a fore-piece to sustain the cross bar above, so that its form is triangular; the extremity of the case is rounded into a ram's head, which seems to allude to its Theban original; and I should imagine that this instrument is likewise Egyptian, as no harp with such a number of strings has ever been seen, that I know of, in Grecian sculpture.

As the application of pedals has enabled us to disengage the modern harp from its multiplicity of strings, and

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brought it nearer to Theban simplicity, I hope our artists, and Merlin, in particular, will likewise endeavour to introduce into its form a little of the Theban elegance. It is the favourite of the fair sex, and nothing should be spared to make it beautiful; for, it should be a principal object of mankind to attach them by every means to music, as it is the only amusement that may be enjoyed to excess, and the heart still remain virtuous and uncorrupted.

I shall say nothing of the capabilities of this harp, nor what may be proved from it relative to the state of music, at a time when men were able to make such an instrument. I shall with impatience expect this detail from you, better qualified than any one I know, now in Europe, for this disquisition; it is a curious one, and merits your utmost reflection and attention.

It overturns all the accounts of the earliest state of ancient music and instruments in Egypt, and is altogether in its form, ornaments and compass, an incontestible proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music, were at the greatest perfection when this harp was made; and that what we think, in Egypt, was the invention of the arts, was only the beginning of the era of their restoration.

I am, &c.

JAMES BRUCE.

Observations on some Topics in the Letter on Egyptian and Abyssinian Music.

The reader will observe from this letter, that the figure of the harp only was communicated to Dr Burney, on which that gentleman made some very interesting remarks, to be found in his work before mentioned. A second harp, copied at the same time with the first, was afterwards found by Mr Bruce among his papers; and the complete drawings of both are given in the Travels.

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Mr Browne, who lately travelled into Egypt, and Darfûr, and visited the cavern in the Biban al Moluc, where Mr Bruce drew these figures, has insinuated that he seemed to have drawn them from memory. This report has gained credit, and been repeated to the prejudice of Mr Bruce's character, both in Britain and on the continent *. The facts, that may be brought to vindicate him, are the following:

The penciled sketches of the two harps are still preserved among Mr Bruce's papers, and one of them, at least, is clearly the work of Luigi Balugani. On one of them is a direction to the engraver, in Mr Bruce's handwriting, giving him a slight liberty to finish the sketch, but not to change the costume of the player. This was written a short time before the publication of the Travels; but it is quite evident to any eye that the difference between the engraving and the sketch is very trifling.

From the known custom of Mr Bruce and his assistant, it is next to certain that the sketches were taken on the spot. However careless Mr Browne may suppose these gentlemen to have been at other times, it is not likely that they would have sitten down, after an excursion through the tombs of ancient Thebes, to draw, *from memory*, the sculptures they had seen in the course of the day. Mr Browne does not pretend that he can draw; we may, therefore, ask him, if he had Mr Bruce's drawings in the cave to compare them with the originals? If he had not, his criticism is that of a man who is no artist, *making a remark from memory*. Whether Mr Bruce could draw or not, is of little importance in deciding on the truth of these representations; for he had in his company an excellent draughtsman, whose works remain to speak for his pretensions †.

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* Vide Larcher, Traduct. d' Herodote, Vol. I. pref. p. xliv.

† Mr Bruce speaks of these harps in his original journal. The editor of this work has read the narrative of Mr Browne's travels in Darfûr with much pleasure and benefit. Every man who advances our knowledge of Africa is entitled to our regard;

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M. de Non, who gives us a more perfect view of Egyptian antiquities than any work as yet in existence, confirms what Mr Bruce has said on the subject of Egyptian music. That accomplished artist sketched seven figures, playing on instruments, from the walls of the royal sepulchres, west of Thebes, and from the temple of Tentyra. From the tombs of the kings he gives a groupe of three female performers, the first of whom is playing on a kind of theorbo, the strings of which are fixed and governed by pegs, as in our violins. She strikes them with her fingers, not with a plectrum, or bow; but whether she can change the note by stopping a string with one hand, while she plays with the other, is unknown. The second was represented playing on a wind instrument, which is unfortunately defaced. The third is playing on the harp with both hands; like the rest she is kneeling; and the instrument rises considerably above her. It has many strings, perhaps fifteen or twenty, but it is impossible from the drawing to reckon the true number. These females are all dressed in close white linen or cotton shirts; their heads are shaven; and their breasts are flaccid and pendant, like those of the modern Egyptian women.

M. de Non gives a very simple, but fantastic, form of the harp, which he copied in the third chamber of the small apartment on the summit of the body of the temple at Tentyra. The arch, or back of it, is in the form of a serpent; the top of it is surmounted by a human neck and head shaved; the pedestal is a hare, or some animal of that species, couching, with its long ears bent backwards, under the instrument. It seems to have only four strings; and is possibly the oldest form of the instrument, scarcely separated from the lyre. From its hieroglyphical construction, it was probably consecrated to the gods.

The most important of these sculptures is that of a musician playing on a harp, having, according to M. de Non, twenty-one strings. The sketch which he gives nearly inclines us, at first, to believe, that it is one of those given by Mr Bruce; yet, on examination, it differs in so

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but Mr Browne treats Mr Bruce with all the idle hostility of a rival.

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many particulars as to leave no doubt that it is none of them. M. de Non's sketch is evidently hasty, but probably a good resemblance. The player's face is turned to the right; his head is on the reverse side of the instrument, stretched forwards; both hands are extended on the strings, and near one another. His head is shaven and bare; he wears a loose striped robe, descending to his feet. The harp is taller than the performer, in his bending posture; it is finely ornamented, and has on the pedestal a sphinx, or human head, covered with a helmet-like head-dress, surmounted with a towering and peaked apex, commonly seen on the figure of the gods. The neck is like that of a beast; but it is not continued to the shoulders.

Were the compass of the fore-mentioned instruments, as employed by the ancient performers, known, it would throw great light on the history of Egyptian music. In the theorbolike instrument it is easy to discover the prototype, at least as far as figure is concerned, of the violin tribe: But, improved as these figures suggest the music of Egypt to have been, there are many sad presumptions which militate against the perfection of the arts alluded to by Mr Bruce. Egypt was a country of legal statutes, that arose from ancient prejudice and custom, rather than from reason. Its discoveries were unimproved by taste. Its sculpture and architecture, in short, its arts of every kind, had only one aim; the service of religion; and if they reached the excellence of former times in that single respect, they pursued no further the course of improvement. Egypt reared her temples to contend with time; her tombs to combat with the waste of ages. She raised no Ionic nor Corinthian pillar to delight the living; her sculptured, everduring columns were heaved on high, to imitate the strength and majesty of the gods; her pyramids and granite obelisks were to watch over the sacred memory of the dead, till the hour of some distant revolution in nature. Hence the labour bestowed on every object which regarded the narrow house; and hence the toils that strove only for what was awful, permanent, and immense.

As the aim of all the fine arts in Egypt was not improvement nor pleasure, it is reasonable to infer that they

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would be very stationary. Their ancient perfection in that country is a very plausible doctrine, not peculiar to Mr Bruce, but unsupported by sufficient evidence. When Egypt was conquered by the Persians, its literature suffered a heavy blow; and its arts gradually declined. Many discoveries may have been made by individuals in the better days of its government, which were forgotten with their authors, and never revived till the era of European genius. Much may be admitted on account of what we know to have been done.—Still here is no reason to believe, that there ever was a time when any ancient nation could vie with the moderns in those ingenious processes, which are the result of induction from a long observation of facts. Art can never proceed far without science; a general rule, which applies even in the case of music, the art under consideration. It is probable that the Egyptians had no method of writing musical sounds, except the very imperfect one of marks over the words; and, indeed, it may be fairly questioned if their writing expressed the words themselves. No melodies could be long preserved in a pure state which descended from memory to memory; and the improvements of genius must have often perished with the individual. If very perfect instruments had been common in Egypt, they certainly would have been adopted by the Arabs, the Syrians, and the Greeks, by far the most ingenious of the three. The Jews had what may be called improved instruments, when compared with those of the nations around them. The harp of David had ten strings: it was certainly the most perfect then known; for the owner possessed all the musical knowledge of his age, and owed his first preferment to that accomplishment. The Jewish knowledge was derived from Egypt; and the accounts given in the Scriptures of the immense bands of singers and players allotted to the Temple, make a very instructive counter-part to what we know of Egyptian music. Noise, confusion, and rudeness, formed its character.

Notwithstanding these considerations, and although we cannot discover perfection in the arts of the ancient Egyptians, we must allow them the high praise of originality. Nor need we blush to search among the ruins of their

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time-defying edifices for the infant history of every art and science which adorns, or benefits, our species. For they had laws and religion, cities and temples, with all the employments of a great and civilized nation, before the writer of the oldest record in existence commenced the history of nature and man, or imparted to him any knowledge from the author of his being.

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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST AGES OF THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN TRADE—THE FIRST PEOPLING OF ABYSSINIA AND ATBARA—SOME CONJECTURES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE THERE.

CHAP. I.

Of the India trade in its earliest ages—Settlement of Ethiopia—Troglodytes—Building of the first Cities.

THE farther back we go into the history of Eastern nations, we have the more reason to be surprised at the accounts of their immense riches and magnificence. One who reads the history of Egypt is like a traveller walking through its ancient, ruined, and deserted towns, where all are palaces and temples, without any trace of private or ordinary habitation. In the earliest, though now mutilated, accounts which we possess of them, all is power, splendour, and riches,

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attended by luxury, their necessary consequence, without any clue, or thread, left us, by which we can remount to the source whence this variety of wealth had flowed; without ever being able to arrive at a period, when these people were poor and mean, or even in a state of mediocrity, upon a footing with European nations.

The sacred scriptures, the most ancient, and credible of all histories, represent Palestine, of which they particularly treat, in the earliest ages, as not only full of polished, powerful, and orderly states, but abounding also in silver and gold *, in a greater proportion than can be found at this day in any state in Europe, though immensely rich dominions in a new world have been added to that territory, which furnished the greatest quantity of gold and silver to the old.—Yet Palestine, left to its own resources and produce, must always have been poor, without some extraordinary connection with foreign nations. It never contained either mines of gold, or silver; and though, at some periods of its history, it appears to have been but thinly inhabited, it never of itself produced wherewithal to support and maintain the few that dwelt in it.

M. de Montesquieu †, speaking of the wealth of Semiramis, imagines that the great riches of the Assyrian empire, in the reign of this queen, arose from her having plundered some more ancient and rich nation, as the Assyrians, in their turn, fell afterwards a prey to a poorer, but more warlike enemy. But, however true this fact may be with regard to Semiramis, it does not solve the general difficulty, with regard to the wealth of that prior nation, which the As-

* Exod. xxxviii. 39.
† Liv. xxi. cap. 6.

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syrians plundered, and from which they received their treasure. I believe the example is rare, of a large kingdom having been enriched by war. Alexander conquered all Asia, part of Africa, and a considerable portion of Europe; he plundered the kingdom, which once belonged to Semiramis, and all those that were tributary to her; he went farther into India than ever she did, though her territories bordered upon the river Indus itself; yet neither Macedon, nor any of the neighbouring provinces of Greece, could ever compare with the small districts of Tyre and Sidon for riches.

War disperses wealth in the very instant it is acquiring it; but commerce, well regulated, constantly and honestly supported, carried on with economy and punctuality, is the only thing that ever did enrich extensive kingdoms; and one hundred hands employed at the loom, will bring to a country more permanent riches and abundance, than ten thousand men bearing spears and shields. We may easily produce an example that will confirm this. The subjects and neighbours of Semiramis had brought spices by land into Assyria. The Ishmaelites and Midianities, the merchants and carriers of gold from Ethiopia, and more immediately from Palestine, met in her dominions; in which was, for a time, the mart of the East India trade. But, by an absurd expedition into India, in hopes to enrich herself all at once, she effectually ruined that commerce, and her kingdom fell immediately afterwards.

Whoever reads the history of the most ancient nations, will find the origin of wealth and power in the east; that they gradually advanced westward, spreading themselves, at the same time, north and south. They will find the riches and population of those nations decay in proportion as this trade with India for-

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sakes them; which cannot but suggest to a good understanding, a truth constantly to be found in the disposition of all things in this universe, that God makes use of the smallest means and causes to operate the greatest and most powerful effects. In his hand a pepper corn is the foundation of the power, glory, and riches of India; he makes an acorn, and by it communicates power and riches to nations divided from India by thousands of leagues of sea.

Let us proceed to consider Egypt. Sesostris, before the time we have been just speaking of, passed with a fleet of large ships from the Arabian Gulf into the Indian Ocean; he conquered part of India, and opened to Egypt the commerce of that country by sea. I enter not into the credibility of the number of his fleet, as there is scarce any thing credible, or intelligible, left us about the shipping and navigation of the ancients, or, at least, that is not full of difficulties and contradictions; my business is with the expedition, not with the number of the ships. It would appear he revived, rather than discovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the East Indies, which, though it was at times intermitted (perhaps forgot by the princes who were contending for the sovereignty of the continent of Asia), was, nevertheless, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themselves, from the ports of India and Africa, and from Edom, on the Red Sea.

The pilots alone, of all the world, from these ports, had a secret confined to their own knowledge, upon which the success of the voyages depended. This was the phenomena of the trade-winds, and monsoons*, which the pilots of Sesostris knew; and which those of Nearchus seem to have taught him only in

* These are far from being synonymous terms, as we shall see afterwards.

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part, in his long and disastrous voyage afterwards, of which we are to speak in the sequel. History says further of Sesostris, that the Egyptians considered him as their greatest benefactor, for having laid open to them the trade of both India and Arabia; for having overturned the dominion of the Shepherd kings; and, lastly, for having restored to the native Egyptians each their own lands, which had been wrested from them by the violent hands of the Ethiopian Shepherds, during the first usurpation of these princes.

In memory of his having happily accomplished these events, Sesostris is said to have built a ship of cedar, of an hundred and twenty yards in length, the outside of which he covered with plates of gold, and the inside with plates of silver, and to have dedicated this in the temple of Isis. I will not enter into the defence of the probability of his reasons for having built a ship of this size, and for such a purpose, as one of ten yards would have answered as well. The use for which it was made, was apparently to serve for a hieroglyphic of what we had accomplished, viz. that he had laid open the gold and silver trade from the mines in Ethiopia, and navigated the ocean in ships of wood, which were the only ones, he thereby insinuated, that could be employed in that trade with safety and advantage. The Egyptian ships, before that time, were all made of the reed papyrus *, covered with skins or leather, of a construction which no people could venture to present to the ocean.

Much may be learned from a proper understanding of these last benefits conferred by Sesostris on his Egyptian subjects. When we understand these, which is very easy to any that have travelled in the regions

* See the article Papyrus in the Appendix.

we are speaking of (for nations and causes have changed very little in these countries to this day), it will not be difficult to find a solution of this problem. What was the cause that, progressively, laid the foundation of all that immense grandeur of the east; what polished its barbarous tribes, and clothed them with silk, scarlet, and gold; and what carried the arts and sciences among them, to a pitch, perhaps, never yet surpassed, and this some thousands of years before the nations in Europe had any other habitation than their native woods, or clothing than the skins of beasts, or government, except the innate influence which nature had given to the strongest?

Let us, therefore, inquire into the connection which Sesostris established between Egypt and India; what was that commerce of Ethiopia and Arabia, by which he enriched Egypt, and how these nations had communication with the peninsula of India; who those kings were, who bore so opposite an office, as to be at the same time Shepherds; and near, and powerful enough to wrest the property of their lands from four millions of inhabitants?

To explain these things, it will be necessary to enter into some detail; without which no person looking into the ancient, or modern, history of this part of Africa, can have any precise idea of it, nor of the different nations inhabiting the peninsula, the source of whose wealth consisted entirely in the early, but well-established commerce between Africa and India.—What renders this subject of more easy explanation is, that the ancient employment and occupations of these people in the first ages, were still the same that subsist at this day. The people have changed a little by colonies of strangers being introduced among them, but their manners and employments are the same as

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they originally were. What does not relate to the ancient history of these people, I shall only mention in the course of my travels when passing through, or sojourning amongst them.

Providence had created the inhabitants of the peninsula of India under many disadvantages in point of climate. The high and wholesome part of the country was covered with barren and rugged mountains; at different times of the year, violent rains fell in large currents down the sides of these, which overflowed the fertile land below; and these rains were no sooner over, than they were succeeded by a scorching sun, the effect of which on the human body, was to render it feeble, enervated, and incapable of the efforts necessary for agriculture. In this flat country, large rivers, having scarcely declivity enough to run, crept slowly along, through meadows of fat black earth, stagnating in many places as they went, rolling in their languid stream an abundance of decayed vegetables, and filling the whole air with exhalations of the most corrupt and putrid kind. Even rice, the general food of man, the safest and most friendly to the inhabitants of that country, could not grow in it, but by laying under water the places where it was sown, and thereby rendering them, for several months, absolutely improper for man's dwelling. Providence, after having done this, never failing in its wisdom, made to the natives much more than a sufficient amends.

Their bodies were unfit for the toils of agriculture, nor was the land proper for common cultivation. It produced, however, spices of great variety, especially a small berry, called Pepper, supposed, of all others, and with reason, the most friendly to the health of man. It grew spontaneously, and was gathered without toil. It was, at once, a remedy for the inclemen-

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cies and diseases of the country, as well as the source of its riches, from the demand of foreigners. This kind of spice was unknown in India, though equally useful in every putrid region, where, unhappily, these diseases reign. Providence had not, as in India, placed the remedy so near them, wisely providing for the welfare of mankind in general, by the dependency it forced one man to have upon another. In India, and similar climates, it is not used in small quantities, but in such as to be nearly equal to that of bread.

In clothing, Providence had not been less kind to India. The silk-worm, with little fatigue and trouble to man, almost without his interference, supplied him with a stuff, at once the most soft, light, and brilliant, and consequently the best adapted to warm countries; and cotton, a vegetable production, growing everywhere in abundance, without care, which may be considered, in many of its qualities, as almost equal to silk, and superior to it in some, afforded a variety still cheaper for more general use. Every tree, without culture, produced this people fruit of the most excellent kind; every branch afforded them shade, under which, with a very light and portable loom of cane, they could pass their lives delightfully in a calm and rational enjoyment; at the same time, by the gentle exercise of weaving, providing for the health of their bodies, the necessities of their families, and the riches of their country.

But however plentifully their spices grew, in whatever quantity they consumed them, and however generally they wore their own manufactures, the superabundance of both was such, as naturally led the Indians to look out for articles against which they might barter their superfluities. This became necessary to supply the want of those things that had been with-

held from them, for wise ends, or a desire for which, from wantonness, luxury, or slender necessity, they had created in their own imaginations.

Far to the westward, but part of the same continent, connected by a long desert, and dangerous coast, lay the peninsula of Arabia, which produced no spices, though the necessities of part of its climate subjected its inhabitants to the same diseases as those in India. In fact, the country and climate were exactly similar, and, consequently, the plentiful use of these warm productions was as necessary there as in the country where they naturally grew.

Arabia was not abandoned wholly to the inclemency of its climate. It produced myrrh, and frankincense, which, when used as perfumes or fumigations, were powerful antiseptics of their kind, but administered rather as preventatives, than to remove the disorder when it once prevailed. These were sold at a price, of which, at this day, we have no conception, but which never was diminished from any circumstance, under which the country where they grew, laboured.

The silk and cotton of India were white, colourless, liable to soil, and without variety; but Arabia produced gum and dyes of various colours, which were highly agreeable to the taste of the Asiatics. We find the sacred scriptures speak of the party-coloured garment as the mark of the greatest honour *. Solomon, in his proverbs, says, that a courtezan decked her bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt†. But Egypt had neither silk nor cotton manufactory, nor even wool. These coverings, though purchased from Egypt, were therefore an article of barter with India.

* Gen. xxxvii. 3, and 2 Sam. xiii. 18.
† Prov. vii. 16.

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Balm, or Balsam *, was a commodity produced in Arabia, sold at a very high price, which it retained till within these few centuries in the east. When the Venetians carried on the India trade by Alexandria, this Balsam then sold for its weight in gold ; it grows in the same place, and, I believe, nearly in the same quantity as ever, but, for very obvious reasons †, it is now of little value.

The basis of trade, or a connection between these two countries, was therefore laid from the beginning, by the hand of Providence. The wants and necessities of the one found a supply, or balance, from the other. Heaven had placed them not far distant, could the passage have been made by sea; but violent, steady, and unconquerable winds made that passage of the ocean impossible, which, we cannot doubt, was for a very considerable time, the reason why the commerce of India was diffused through the continent, by land only ; and from this arose the riches of Semiramis.

But, however precious the riches of Arabia was, it was never capable of balancing the imports from India. Perhaps they might have paid for as much as was used in the peninsula of Arabia itself; but beyond this was Africa, a vast continent, capable of consuming many hundred fold more than Arabia; which lying under the same parallel with India, part of it still farther south, the diseases of the climate, and the wants of its numerous inhabitants, were, in many parts of it, the same as those of Arabia and India; besides which, there were the Red Sea, and divers communications to the northward.

Neither their luxuries nor necessities were the same

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* Vide Appendix, where this tree is described.

† The quantity of similar drugs brought from the New World.

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as those of Europe. And, indeed, Europe, at this time, was probably inhabited by shepherds, hunters, and fishers, who had no luxury at all, or such as could not be supplied from India; they lived in woods and marshes, with the animals which constituted their sport, food, and clothing.

The inhabitants of Africa, then, this vast continent, were to be supplied with the necessaries, as well as the luxuries of life; but they had neither the articles Arabia wanted, nor those required in India; at least, for a time they thought so; and so long they were not a trading people.

It is a tradition among the Abyssinians, which they say they have had from time immemorial, and which is equally received among the Jews and Christians, that almost immediately after the flood, Cush, grandson of Noah, with his family, passing through Atbara from the low country of Egypt, then without inhabitants, came to the ridge of mountains which still separates the flat country of Atbara from the more mountainous high land of Abyssinia *.

By casting his eye upon the map, the reader will see a chain of mountains, beginning at the Isthmus of Suez, that runs all along like a wall, about forty miles

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* This tradition is found in the Appendix to the Kebir za Neguste, or Book of Axum; which fabulously asserts that Ethiopius the son of Cush, the son of Ham, was buried at that place. Ham had four sons, or rather nations, immediately descended from him; viz. Cush, Mezraim, Phut, and Canaan. It will serve as well as any other hypothesis to suppose, that the two brothers journied together in quest of new habitations; that they entered Egypt on the east side of the Nile, where Mezraim founded a kingdom, while Cush advanced into Ethiopia. But history assures us, that the original seat of the Cushites was in Arabia, whence a colony of that people carried the name into Africa, before the time of Sesostris.—E.

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from the Red Sea, till it divides in lat. 13°, into two branches. The one goes along the northern frontiers of Abyssinia, crosses the Nile, and then proceeds westward, through Africa, towards the Atlantic Ocean. The other branch goes southward, and then east, taking the form of the Arabian Gulf; after which, it continues southward all along the Indian Ocean, in the same manner as it did in the beginning all along the Red Sea, that is parallel to the coast.

Their tradition says, that, terrified with the late dreadful event the flood, still recent in their minds, and apprehensive of being again involved in a similar calamity, they chose for their habitation caves in the sides of these mountains, rather than trust themselves again on the plain. It is more than probable, that, soon after their arrival, meeting here with the tropical rains, which, for duration, still exceed the days that occasioned the flood, and observing, that going through Atbara, that part of Nubia between the Nile and Astaboras, afterwards called Meroë, from a dry climate at first, they had afterwards fallen in with rains; and as those rains increased in proportion to their advancing southward, they chose to stop at the first mountains, where the country was fertile and pleasant, rather than proceed farther at the risk of involving themselves, perhaps, in a land of floods, that might prove as fatal to their posterity, as that of Noah had been to their ancestors.

This is a conjecture from probability, only mentioned for illustration; for the motives that guided them cannot certainly be known: but it is an undoubted fact, that here the Cushites, with unparalleled industry, and with instruments utterly unknown to us, formed for themselves commodious, yet wonderful habitations, in the heart of mountains of granite and marble, which remain entire in great numbers to this

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day, and promise to do so till the consummation of all things. This original kind of dwellings soon extended themselves through the neighbouring mountains. As the Cushites grew populous, they occupied those that were next them, spreading the industry and arts which they cultivated, as well towards the eastern as the western ocean; but, content with their first choice, they never descended from their caves, nor chose to reside at a distance on the plain.

It is very singular that St Jerome knows not where to look for this family, the descendants of Cush; though they are as plainly pointed out, and as often alluded to by Scripture, as any nation in the Old Testament. They are described, moreover, by the particular circumstances of their country, which have never varied, to be in the very place where I now fix them, and where, ever since, they have remained, in the same mountains, and houses of stone they formed for themselves in the beginning. And yet Bochart *, professedly treating this subject, as it were industriously involves it in more than Egyptian darkness. I rather refer the reader to his work, to judge for himself, than, quoting it by extracts, communicate the confusion of his ideas to my narrative.

The Abyssinian tradition further says, they built the city of Axum some time early in the days of Abraham, though there are reasons to suppose it was earlier than the period fixed on for that Patriarch's life. Soon after this, they pushed their colony down to Atbara, where, we know from Herodotus †, they early and successfully pursued their studies; from which place, Josephus says ‡, they were called Meroëtes, or inhabitants of the island of Meroë.

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* Boch. Geo. Sach. lib. 4. cap. 3. † Herod. lib. 2. cap. 29.
‡ Joseph. Antiquit. Jud.

The prodigious fragments of colossal statues of the Dog-Star, still to be seen at Axum, sufficiently shew what a material object of their attention they considered him to be; and Seir, which, in the language of the Troglodytes, and in that of the low country of Meroë, exactly corresponding to it, signifies a dog, instructs us in the reason why this province was called Sirè, and the large river which bounds it, Siris.

I apprehend the reason why, without forsaking their ancient domiciles in the mountains, they chose this situation for another city, Meroë, was owing to an imperfection they had discovered (both in Sirè and in their caves below it) to result from their climate. They were within the tropical rains; and, consequently, were impeded and interrupted in the necessary observations of the heavenly bodies, and the progress of astronomy, which they so warmly cultivated. They must have seen, likewise, a necessity for building Meroë farther from these rains than, perhaps, they wished; for the same reason they built Axum in the high-country of Abyssinia, in order to avoid the fly, (a phenomenon of which I shall afterwards speak) which pursued them everywhere within the limits of the rains, and which must have given absolute law, in those first times, to the regulations of the Cushite settlements. They therefore went the length of lat. 16°, where I saw the ruins, supposed to be those of Meroë *, and caves in the mountains immediately above that situation, which I cannot doubt were the temporary habitation of the builders of that first seminary of learning.

It is probable that, immediately upon their success at Meroë, they lost no time in stretching on to Thebes.

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* At Gerri, in my return through the desert.

We know that it was a colony of Ethiopians, and probably from Meroë, but whether directly, or not, we are not certain. A very short time might have passed between the two establishments; for we find above Thebes, as above Meroë, a vast number of caves, which the colony made provisionally, upon its first arrival, and which are very near the top of the mountain, all inhabited to this day.

Hence we may infer, that their ancient apprehensions of a deluge had not left them, whilst they saw the whole land of Egypt could be overflowed every year without rain falling upon it; that they did not absolutely, as yet, trust to the stability of towns like those of Sirè and Meroë, placed upon columns, or stones, one laid upon the other; or otherwise, that they found their excavations in the mountains were finished with less trouble, and more comfortable when complete, than the houses that were built. It was not long before they assumed a greater degree of courage *.

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* The early history of the Cushites, given in this chapter, is rather a theory, than a series of connected facts. Egypt appears to have been peopled from the south; but there is no reason to suppose that the Cushites applied to astronomy, in their original caves. The name Sirius, is not Ethiopic, but Arabic; see Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arabum, p. 131; where that star is shewn to have been an object of religious worship, among some Arabian tribes, under the name of Assheeray'l obur. 'Wa how Rabba Assheeray'; and he is the Lord of *Sirius*, said Mahomed speaking of God. The name of dog was derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Sirre is a dog in the language of the Beja, but is it also a river, or how is it certain that Sirre and Siris and Sihor are one word. One is Bejan; another Arabic or Abyssinian; a third is probably Hebrew.—E.

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CHAP. II.

Saba and the South of Africa peopled—Shepherds, their particular Employment and Circumstances —Abyssinia occupied by seven stranger Nations —Specimens of their several Languages—Conjectures concerning them.

WHILE these improvements were advancing so rapidly in the central and northern territory of the descendents of Cush, their brethren to the south had extended themselves along the mountains that run parallel to the Arabian Gulf: which were in all times called Saba, or Azabo, both of which signify *South*, not because Saba was south of Jerusalem (for this probably was its original name before Jerusalem existed), but because it was on the south coast of the Arabian Gulf; and, because from Arabia and Egypt, lay the first land to the southward which bounded the African Continent, then richer, more important, and better known, than the rest of the world. By that acquisition, they enjoyed all the perfumes and aromatics of the East, myrrh, and frankincense, and cassia; all of which grow spontaneously in that stripe of ground, from the Bay of Bilur west of Azab, east to Cape Gardefan, and then southward up the Indian Ocean, to near the coast of Melinda, where there is cinnamon, but of an inferior kind.

Arabia probably had not then set itself up as a rival to this side of the Red Sea, nor had it introduced

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from Abyssinia the myrrh and frankincense trees, as it did afterwards; for there is no doubt that the principal mart, and growth of these gums, were always near Saba. Upon the consumption increasing, they, however, were transplanted thence into Arabia, where the myrrh has not succeeded.

The Troglodyte extended himself still farther south. As an astronomer, he had to disengage himself from the tropical rains and cloudy skies, that hindered his correspondent observations with his countrymen at Meroë and Thebes. As he advanced within the southern tropic, he, however, still found rains, and made his houses such as the fears of a deluge had instructed him at first to do. He found there solid and high mountains, in a fine climate; but, luckier than his countrymen to the northward, he found gold and silver in large quantities, in the course of his excavations; and this determined his occupation, and made the riches and consequence of his country. In these mountains, called the Mountains of Sofala *, large quantities of both metals were discovered in their pure unmixed state, lying in globules without alloy, or any necessity of preparation or separation.

The balance of trade, so long against the Arabian and African continents, turned now in their favour, from the immense influx of these precious metals found in the mountains of Sofala, just on the verge of the southern tropical rains.

Gold and silver had been fixed upon in India as proper returns for their manufactures and produce. It is impossible to say whether it was from their hardness or beauty, or what other reason governed the

* This may be the European, but cannot be the original name; for Sofala signifies the low land or sea coast.—E.

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mind of man in making them the standard of barter. The history of the particular transactions of those times is lost, if, indeed, there ever was any such history; and, therefore, all further inquiries are in vain. The choice, it seems, was a proper one, since it has continued unaltered so many ages in India, and has been universally adopted by all nations pretty much in the same proportion or value as in India itself, into which continent gold and silver, from this very early period, began to flow, have continued so to do till this day, and in all probability will do to the end of time. What has become of that immense quantity of bullion, how it is consumed, or where it is deposited, and which way it returns, if ever—are doubts which I have never found a person that could satisfactorily solve.

The Cushite, then, inhabited the mountains; whilst the northern colonies advanced from Meroë to Thebes, busy and intent upon the improvement of architecture, and building of towns, which they began to substitute for their caves. They thus became traders, farmers, artificers of all kinds, and even practical astronomers, from having a meridian night and day free from clouds; for such was that of the Thebaid. As this was impossible to their brethren, and as six months of continual rain confined them to these caves, we cannot doubt but that their sedentary life made them useful in reducing the many observations daily made by those of their countrymen who lived under a purer sky. Letters, too, at least one kind of them, and arithmetical characters, we are told, were invented by this middle part of the Cushites, while trade and astronomy, the natural history of the winds and seasons, were what necessarily employed the part of the colony established at Sofala most to the southward.

The very nature of the Cushite's commerce, the collecting of gold, the gathering and preparing of spices,

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necessarily fixed him at home; but his profit lay in the dispersing of these spices through the continent; otherwise his mines, and the trade produced by the possession of them, had been of little avail to him.

A carrier was absolutely necessary to the Cushite, and Providence provided him with one in a nation which were his neighbours. These were in most respects different, as they had long hair, European features, very dusky and dark complexions, but nothing like the black moor or negro; they lived in plains, had moveable huts or habitations, while attending their numerous cattle, and wandered, from the necessities and particular circumstances of their country. These people were in Hebrew called Phut, and, in all other languages, Shepherds: they are so still, for they exist at this day, living by the same occupation; never had another, and therefore cannot be mistaken. They are called Balous, Bagla, Belowee, Berberi, Barabra, Zilla, and Habab *, which all signify but one thing, in different languages, namely that of Shepherd. From their place of habitation, the territory has been called Barbaria by the Greeks and Romans, from Berber, in the original signifying shepherd. The authors that speak of the Shepherds seem to know little of those of the Thebaid, and still less of those of Ethiopia. They enter immediately upon the Shepherds of the Delta, that they may get sooner rid of them, and thrust them into Assyria, Palestine, and Arabia. They never say what their origin was; how they became so powerful; what was their occupation; or, the land they first inhabited; or what is now become of them; though, from ignorance of their history, they seem inclined to think the race extinct.

* It is very probable, some of these words signified different degrees among them, as we shall see in the sequel.

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The whole employment of the Shepherds had been the dispersing of the Arabian and African goods all over the continent; they had, by that employment, risen to be a great people: as that trade increased, their quantity of cattle increased also, and consequently their riches, numbers, and extent of their territory.

Upon looking at the map, the reader will see a chain of mountains which I have described, and which run in a high ridge nearly straight north, along the Indian Ocean, in a direction parallel to the coast, where they end at Cape Gardefan. They then take the direction of the coast, and run west from Cape Gardefan to the Straits of Babelmandeb, inclosing the frankincense and myrrh country, which extends considerably to the west of Azab. From Babelmandeb they run northward, parallel to the Red Sea, till they end in the sandy plain at the Isthmus of Suez, a name probably derived from Suah, Shepherds.

Although this stripe of land along the Indian Ocean, and afterwards along the Red Sea, was necessary to the Shepherds, because they carried their merchandize to the ports there, and thence to Thebes and Memphis upon the Nile, yet the principal seat of their residence and power was that flat part of Africa between the northern tropic and the mountains of Abyssinia. This is divided into various districts; it reaches from Masuah along the sea-coast to Suakem, then turns westward, and continues in that direction, having the Nile on the south, the tropic on the north, to the deserts of Selima, and the confines of Lybia on the west. This large extent of country is called Beja. The next is that district * in form of a shield, as Meroë is said to have been; which name was given it by

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. cap. 3.

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Cambyses. It is between the Nile and Astaboras, and is now called Atbara. Between the river Mareb, the ancient Astusaspes on the east, and Atbara on the west, is the small plain territory of Derkin, another district of the Shepherds. All that range of mountains running east and west, inclosing Derkin and Atbara on the south, and which begins the mountainous country of Abyssinia, is inhabited by the negro woolly-headed Cushite, or Shangalla, living as formerly in caves, who, from having been the most cultivated and instructed people in the world, have, by a strange reverse of fortune, relapsed into brutal ignorance, and are hunted by their neighbours, like wild beasts, in those forests, where they used to reign in the utmost luxury, liberty, and splendour. But the noblest, and most warlike of all the Shepherds, were those that inhabited the mountains of the Habab, a considerable ridge reaching from the neighbourhood of Masuah to Suakem, and who still dwell there.

In the ancient language of this country, So, or Suah, signified Shepherd, or Shepherds; and though we do not now know any particular rank or degree among them, yet we may suppose these called simply Shepherds were the common sort that attended the flocks. Another denomination, which part of them bore, was Hycsos, sounded by us Agsos, that signified armed Shepherds, or such as wore harness, which may be supposed the soldiers, or armed force of that nation. The third we see mentioned is Ag-ag, which is thought to be the nobles or chiefs of those armed Shepherds, whence came their title, King of Kings *. The plural

* This was the hereditary name of the king of Amalek; he was an Arab shepherd, slain by Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 33. And probably of Og, king of Bashan, a shepherd also.

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of this is Agagi, or, as it is written in the Ethiopic, Agaazi *.

This term has very much puzzled both Scaliger and Ludolf; for, finding in the Abyssinian books that they are called Agaazi, they torment themselves about the etymology of that word. They imagine them to be Arabs from near the Red Sea, and Mr Ludolf † think the term signifies *banished men*. Scaliger, too, has various conjectures about them, nearly to the same import. All this, however, is without foundation; the people assert themselves at this day to be Agaazi, that is, a race of shepherds inhabiting the mountains of the Habab, who have by degrees extended themselves through the whole province of Tigré, whose capital is called Axum, from Ag and Suah, the metropolis, or principal city of the shepherds that wore arms.

Nothing was more opposite than the manners and life of the Cushite, and of his carrier the shepherd. The first, though he had forsaken his caves, and now lived in cities which he had built, was necessarily confined at home by his commerce, amassing gold, arranging the invoices of his spices, hunting in the proper season to provide himself with ivory, and food throughout the winter. His mountains, and the cities he built afterwards, were situated upon a loamy, black earth, so that as soon as the tropical rains began to fall, a wonderful phenomenon deprived him of his cattle. Large swarms of flies appeared wherever that loamy earth was, which made him absolutely dependent in this respect upon the shepherd; but these affected the shepherd also.

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* All this etymology on the names, Suah, Agag, Hycsos, and the like, when applied to the nations Cush and Phut, is extremely uncertain.—E.

† Ludolf, lib. i. cap. 4.

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This insect is called Zimb *, in modern or vulgar Arabic: it has not been described by any naturalist. It is in size very little larger than a bee, of a thicker proportion, and the wings, which are broader than those of a bee, are placed separate like those of a fly; they are of pure gauze, without colour or spot upon them; the head is large, the upper jaw or lip is sharp, and has at the end of it a strong pointed hair of about a quarter of an inch long; the lower jaw has two of these pointed hairs, and this pencil of hairs, when joined together, makes a resistance to the finger nearly equal to that of a strong hog's bristle. Its legs are serrated in the inside, and the whole covered with brown hair, or down. As soon as this plague appears, and its buzzing is heard, all the cattle forsake their food, and run wildly about the plain, till they die, worn out with fatigue, fright, and hunger. No remedy remains, but to leave the black earth, and to hasten down to the sands of Atbara; and there they remain while the rains last, this cruel enemy never daring to pursue them farther.

What enables the shepherd to perform the long and toilsome journies across Africa is the camel, emphatically called, by the Arabs, the ship of the desert. He seems to have been created for this very trade, endued with parts and qualities adapted to the office he is employed to discharge. The driest thistle, or the barest thorn, is all the food this useful quadruped requires; and even these, to save time, he eats while advancing on his journey, without stopping, or occasioning a moment of delay. As it is his lot to cross immense deserts, where no water is found, and countries not

* See Appendix. It is the same name as Zebub in Hebrew. —E.

even moistened by the dew of heaven, he is endowed with the power at one watering-place of laying in a store, with which he supplies himself for thirty days to come. To contain this enormous quantity of fluid, nature has formed large cisterns within him, from which, once filled, he draws at pleasure the quantity he wants, and pours it into his stomach with the same effect as if he then drew it from a spring; and with this he travels, patiently and vigorously, all day long, carrying a prodigious load through countries affected with poisonous winds, and glowing with parching and never-cooling sands. Though his size is immense, like his strength, and his body covered with a thick skin, defended with strong hair, yet still he is not capable to sustain the violent punctures the fly makes with his pointed proboscis. He must lose no time in removing to the sands of Atbara; for, when once attacked by this fly, his body, head, and legs, swell out into large bosses, which break, and putrify, to the certain destruction of the creature.

Even the elephant and rhinoceros, who, by reason of their enormous bulk, and the vast quantity of food and water they daily need, cannot shift to desert and dry places as the season may require, are obliged to roll themselves in mud or mire, which, when dry, coats them over like armour, and enables them to stand their ground against this winged assassin: yet I have found some of these tubercles upon almost every elephant and rhinoceros that I have seen, and attribute them to this cause.

All the inhabitants of the sea-coast of Melinda, down to Cape Gardefan, Saba, and the south coast of the Red Sea, are obliged to put themselves in motion, and change their habitation to the next sand in the beginning of the rainy season, to prevent all their stock of cattle from being destroyed. This is not a

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partial emigration; the inhabitants of all the countries from the mountains of Abyssinia northward, to the confluence of the Nile and Astaboras, are once a-year obliged to change their abode, and seek protection in the sands of Beja; nor is there any alternative, or means of avoiding it, though a hostile band was in their way, capable of spoiling them of half their substance; and this is now actually the case, as we shall see when we come to speak of Sennaar.

Of all those that have written upon these countries, the prophet Isaiah alone has given an account of this animal, and the manner of its operation Isaiah, ch. vii. 18. and 19. ver. "And it shall come to pass, in "that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is "in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt;"— "And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in "the desolate vallies *, and in the holes of the rocks, "and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes."

The mountains that I have already spoken of, as running through the country of the shepherds, divide the seasons by a line drawn along their summit, so exactly, that while the eastern side, towards the Red Sea, is deluged with rain for the six months that constitute our winter in Europe, the western side, towards Atbara, enjoys a perpetual sun, and active vegetation. Again, the six months when it is our summer in Europe, Atbara, or the western side of these mountains, is constantly covered with clouds and rain, while, for the same time, the shepherd on the eastern side, towards the Red Sea, feeds his flocks on the most exu-

* That is, they shall cut off from the cattle their usual retreat to the desert, by taking possession of those places, and meeting them there, where ordinarily they never come, and which therefore are the refuge of the cattle.

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berant foliage, and luxuriant verdure, enjoying the fair weather, free from the fly or any other molestation. These great advantages have very naturally occasioned the countries of Atbara and Beja to be the principal residence of the shepherd and his cattle, and have entailed upon him the necessity of a perpetual change of places. Yet so little is this inconvenience, so short the peregrination, that, from the rains on the west side, a man, in the space of four hours, may change to the opposite season, and find himself in sun-shine to the eastward.

When Carthage was built, the carriage of this commercial city fell into the hands of Lehabim, or Lubim, the Lybian peasants, and became a great accession to the trade, power, and number of the shepherds. In countries inaccessible by shipping, the end of navigation was nearly answered by the immense increase of camels; and this trade, we find, was carried on in the very earliest ages on the Arabian side, by the Ishmaelite merchants trading to Palestine and Syria, from the south end of the peninsula, with camels. We learn in particular from Moses, that they brought myrrh and spices, or pepper, and sold them for silver; and also balm, or balsam, which, in those days, was gotten from Gilead.

We regret, in reading this curious anecdote preserved to us in Scripture, to find, in those early ages of the India trade, that another species of commerce was closely connected with it, which modern philanthropy has branded as the disgrace of human nature. It is plain, from the passage, that the commerce of selling men was then universally established. Joseph * is bought as readily, and sold as currently immediately after, as

* Gen. chap. xxxvii. ver. 25, 28.

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any ox or camel could be at this day. Three nations, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech *, are mentioned as having their principal trade at Tyre in the selling of men; and, as late as the time of St John, it is mentioned as the principal trade of several great cities †. Yet no prohibition from God, or censure from the prophets, have ever stigmatized it either as irreligious or immoral; on the contrary, it is always spoken of as favourably as any species of commerce whatever. For this, and many other reasons which I could mention, I cannot think, that purchasing slaves is, in itself, either cruel or unnatural. To purchase any living creature to abuse it afterwards, is certainly both base and criminal; and the crime becomes still of a deeper dye, when our fellow-creatures suffer. But, although this is an abuse which accidentally follows the trade, it is no necessary part of the trade; and it is against this abuse that the wisdom of the legislature should direct the coercion, not against the practice itself.

On the eastern side of the peninsula of Africa, many thousand slaves are sold to Asia, exactly in the same manner as those on the west side are sent to the West Indies; but no one, that ever I heard, has as yet opened his mouth against the sale of Africans to the East Indies; though there is an aggravation in this last sale of slaves that should touch us much more than the other, where no such additional grievance can be pretended. The slaves, sold into Asia, are most of them Christians; they are sold to Mahometans, and, with their liberty, they are certainly deprived of their religion likewise ‡. But the treatment of the

* Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 13.
† Rev. chap. xviii. ver. 13.
‡ This is but poor reasoning. We must begin with reforming

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Asiatics being much more humane than what the Africans, sold to the West Indies, experience, no clamour has yet been raised against this commerce in Asia, because its only bad consequence is apostacy; a proof to me that religion has no part in the present dispute, or, as I have said, that the abuse which accidentally follows the purchasing of slaves, not the trade itself, should be considered as the grievance. The merchandise of slaves was easily established by the India trade; and has contributed much to abolish two savage African customs, the eating of captives, and sacrificing them to idols, once universal in that whole continent *.

There is still alive a man of the name of Matthews, who was present at one of those bloody banquets, on the west of Africa, to the northward of Senegal. It is probable the continuation of the slave trade would have soon restrained, and then altogether abolished these on the west side also. Many other reasons could be alleged, did my plan permit it. But I shall content myself at present, with saying, that I very much fear that a relaxation and effeminacy of manners, rather than a genuine tenderness of heart, have been the cause of this violent paroxysm of philanthropy, and of some other measures adopted of late to the discouragement of discipline, which I do not doubt will

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ourselves, not the Mahometans. There is no physical necessity that obliges the slave-master to be cruel, but entire controul, granted for lucrative ends, leads him to be so.—E.

* All this may be doubted. Will the African gods be left without sacrifices, so long as they are worshipped? Will not the possibility of a market excite an industry to procure goods? Is it right that any man should dispose of man, without regard to his mind or natural rights?—E.

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soon be felt to contribute their mite to the decay both of trade and navigation that will necessarily follow.

The Ethiopian shepherds at first carried on the trade on their own side of the Red Sea; they carried their India commodities to Thebes, and likewise to the different black nations to the south-west; in return, they brought back gold, probably at a cheaper rate, because certainly by a shorter carriage than by that from Ophir.

The Shepherds, for the most part friends and allies of the Egyptians, or Cushites, at times were enemies to them. The Shepherds were Sabeans, worshipping the host of heaven—the sun, moon, and stars. Immediately upon the building of Thebes and the perfection of sculpture, idolatry and the grossest materialism greatly corrupted the more pure and speculative religion of the Sabeans. Soon after the building of Thebes, we see that Rachel, Jacob's wife, had idols *; we need seek no other probable cause of the devastation that followed, than difference of religion.

Thebes was destroyed by Salatis, who overturned the first Dynasty of Cushite, or Egyptian kings, begun by Menes, in what is called the second age of the world, and founded the first Dynasty of the Shepherds, who behaved very cruelly, and wrested the lands from their first owners. It was this Dynasty that Sesostris destroyed, after calling it by his father's name, Ammon No, making those decorations that we have seen of the harp in the sepulchres on the west, and building Diospolis on the opposite side of the river. The second conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds was that under Sabaco, by whom it has been imagined Thebes was destroyed, in the reign of Heze-

* Gen. xxxv. 4.

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kiah, king of Judah, who is said to have made peace with So *, king of Egypt, as the translator has called him, mistaking So for the name of the king, whereas it only denoted his quality of Shepherd.

From this it is plain, all that the scripture mentions about Ammon No, applies to Diospolis, on the other side of the river. Ammon No and Diospolis, though they were on different sides of the river, were considered as one city, through which the Nile flowed, dividing it into two parts. This is plain from profane history, as well as from the prophet Nahum †, who describes it very exactly, if in place of the word sea was substituted river, as it ought to be.

There was a third invasion of the Shepherds after the building of Memphis, where a ‡ king of Egypt || is said to have inclosed two hundred and forty thousand of them in a city called Abaris; they surrendered upon capitulation, and were banished the country into the land of Canaan. That two hundred and forty thousand men should be inclosed in one city, so as to bear a siege, seems to me extremely improbable; but be it so, all that it can mean is, that Memphis, built in Lower Egypt near the Delta, had war with the Shepherds of the Isthmus of Suez, or the districts near them, as those of Thebes had before with the Shepherds of the Thebaid.

The mountains which the Agaazi inhabit, are called Habab, from which it comes, that they themselves have got that name. Habab, in their language, and in Arabic likewise, signifies a serpent; and this, I sup-

* 2 Kings, xvii. 4.
† Nahum, chap. iii. 8.
‡ Misphragmuthosis.
|| Manetho, Apud. Josephum Apion. lib. 1. p, 460.

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pose, explains that historical fable in the book of Axum, which says, a serpent conquered the province of Tigré, and reigned there *.

It may be asked, Is there no other people that inhabit Abyssinia, but these two nations, the Cushites and the Shepherds? Are there no other nations, whiter or fairer, than them, living to the southward of the Agaazi? Whence did these come? At what time, and by what name, are they called? To this, I answer, That there are various nations which agree with this description, who have each a particular name, and who are all known by that of Habesh, in Latin *Convenæ*, signifying a number of distinct people meeting accidentally in one place. The word has been greatly misunderstood, and misapplied, both by Scaliger and Ludolf, and a number of others; but nothing is more consonant to the history of the country than the translation I have given it, nor will the word itself, in the Geez, bear any other.

The Chronicle of Axum, the most ancient repository of the antiquities of that country, a book improperly esteemed as the first in authority after the holy scriptures, says, that between the creation of the world and the birth of our Saviour, there were 5500 years †; that Abyssinia had never been inhabited till 1808 years before Christ; and 200 years after that,

* In the Appendix to the Keber Neguste, or book of Axum, Arwe, *i. e.* the Serpent, is the first king of Axum, and reigned 400 years. Before the conversion to Christianity, the Ethiopic historians say, that part of their nation worshipped Arwe, the Serpent, and part were Jews, people of the law. This God, or rather symbol of the Deity, is reckoned their first king, in the same manner as the Egyptians made the gods the first sovereigns of Egypt.—E.

† Eight years less than the Greeks, and other followers of the Septuagint.

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which was in 1600, it was laid waste by a flood, the face of the country much changed and deformed, so that it was demoninated at that time Ourè Midre, or, *the country laid waste*, as in scripture itself, a land which the waters, or floods, had spoiled *; that about the 1400th year before Christ it was taken possession of by a variety of people speaking different languages, who, as they were in friendship with the Agaazi, or Shepherds, possessing the high country of Tigré, came and sat down beside them in a peaceable manner, each occupying the lands that were before him. This settlement is what the Chronicle of Axum calls Angaba, the entry and establishment of these nations, which finished the peopling of Abyssinia.

Tradition further says, that they came from Palestine. All this seems to me to wear the face of truth. Some time after the year 1500, we know there happened a flood which occasioned great devastation.—Pausanius says, that this flood happened in Ethiopia in the reign of Cecrops; and, about the 1490 before Christ, the Israelites entered the land of promise, under Caleb and Joshua. We are not to wonder at the great impression that invasion made upon the minds of the inhabitants of Palestine. We see by the history of the harlot, that the different nations had been long informed by prophecies, current and credited among themselves, that they were to be extirpated before the face of the Israelites, who for some time had been hovering about their frontiers. But now, when Joshua had passed the Jordan, after having miraculously dried up the river † before his army had invaded Canaan, and had taken and destroyed Jeri-

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* Isaiah, chap. xvii. 2.
† Joshua, iii. 16.

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cho, a panic seized the whole people of Syria and Palestine.

These petty states, who were many in number, and who had all different languages, seeing a conqueror, with an immense army *, already in possession of part of their country, who barbarously put the vanquished under saws and harrows of iron, and destroyed the men, women, and children, and sometimes even the cattle, by the sword, could no longer think of awaiting the arrival of such a foe, but sought for safety by speedy flight, or emigration. The Shepherds in Abyssinia and Atbara were the most natural refuge these fugitives could seek; commerce must have long made them acquainted with each other's manners, and they must have been already entitled to the rights of hospitality, by having often passed through each other's country.

Procopius † mentions that two pillars were standing in his time on the coast of Mauritania, opposite to Gibraltar, upon which were inscriptions in the Phenician tongue: "We are Canaanites, flying from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun, the robber ‡:" A character they naturally gave him, from the ferocity and violence of his manners. Now, if what these in-

* The Canaanitish states, as found by Joshua, are like ancient Gaul, in the time of Cæsar, a curious picture of human society at a certain period. They certainly all spoke the same language, but they were ignorant of the benefits of union, and struck by the enthusiasm of the Jews. The conquest of the promised land is a dreadful history of extirpation, which the mild spirit of Christianity hesitates to approve; but not to believe. The emigration of these Canaanitish nations into Ethiopia, is a piece of the author's theory inadmissible, either as probable, or authentic.—E.

† Procop. de bello vind. lib. 2. cap. 10.

‡ A Moorish author, Ibn el Raquique, says this inscription was on a stone on a mountain at Carthage. Marmol. lib. 1. cap. 25.

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scriptions contain be true, it is much more credible, that the different nations emigrating at that time, should seek their safety near hand among their friends, rather than go an immense distance to Mauritania, to risk a precarious reception among strangers, and, perhaps, that country not yet inhabited.

On viewing the several countries in which these nations have their settlements, it seems evident they were made by mutual consent, and in peace; they are not separated from each other by chains of mountains, or large and rapid rivers, but generally by brooks, dry the greatest part of the year; by hillocks, or small mounds of earth, or imaginary lines traced to the top of some mountain at a distance; these boundaries have never been disputed, or altered, but remain upon the old tradition to this day. These have all different languages, as we see from scripture all the petty states of Palestine had, but they have no letters, or written character, but the Geez, the character of the Cushite Shepherd, by whom they were first invented and used, as we shall see hereafter. I may add, in further proof of their origin, that the curse of Canaan * seems to have followed them; they have obtained no principality, but served the kings of the Agaazi, or Shepherds, have been their hewers of wood, and drawers of water, and so they still continue to be.

The first and most considerable of these nations settled in a province, called Amhara; it was, at first coming, as little known as the others; but, upon a revolution in the country, the king fled to that province, and there the court staid many years, so that the Geez, or language of the Shepherds, was dropt,

* Gen. ix. 25, 26, and 27 verses.

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and retained only in writing, and as a dead language; the sacred scriptures being in that language only saved the Geez from going totally into disuse. The second was the Agows of Damot, one of the southern provinces of Abyssinia, where they are settled immediately upon the sources of the Nile. The third are the Agows of Lasta, or Tcheratz Agow, from Tchera, their principal habitation: theirs, too, is a separate language; they are Troglodytes that live in caverns, and seem to pay nearly the same worship to the Siris, or Tacazzè, that those of Damot pay to the Nile.

I take the old names of these two last-mentioned nations to be sunk in the circumstances of their new settlement, and to be a compound of two words Ag-oha, the Shepherds of the River, and I also imagine, that the idolatry they introduced in the worship of the Nile, is a further proof that they came from Canaan, where they imbibed materialism, in place of the pure Sabean worship of the Shepherds, then the only religion of this part of Africa.

The fourth is a nation bordering upon the southern banks of the Nile near Damot. It calls itself Gafat, which signifies oppressed by violence, torn, expelled, or chaced away, by force. If we were to follow the idea arising merely from this name, we might be led to imagine, that these were part of the tribes torn from Solomon's son and successor, Rehoboam. But the evidence of the people themselves, and the tradition of the country, deny that they ever were Jews, or concerned with that colony, brought with Menilek and the queen of Saba, which established the Jewish hierarchy. They declare that they are now Pagans, and ever were so; that they are partakers with their neighbours, the Agows, in the worship of the river Nile, the extent or particulars of which I cannot pretend to explain. The fifth is a

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tribe, which, if we were to pay any attention to similarity of names, would lead us to imagine we had found here, in Africa, a part of that great Gaulish nation so widely extended in Europe and Asia. A comparison of their languages, with what we know exists of the former, cannot but be very curious These are the Galla, the most considerable of those nations, of whose language I have cited specimens. This word, in their own language, signifies Shepherd *; they say that formerly they lived on the borders of the southern rains, within the southern tropic; and that, like these in Atbara, they were carriers between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, and supplied the interior part of the peninsula with Indian commodities.

The history of this trade is unknown; it must have been little less ancient, and nearly as extensive, as the trade to Egypt and Arabia. It probably suffered diminution, when the mines of Sofala † were given up, soon after the discovery of the new world. The Portuguese found it still flourishing, when they made their first conquests upon that coast; and still carry it on in an obscure manner, but in the same tract, to their settlements near Cape Negro on the western ocean. From these settlements would be the proper place to begin to explore the interior parts of the peninsula, on both sides of the southern tropic, as protection and assistance could probably be got through the whole

* These people likewise call themselves Agaazi, or Agagi; they have overrun the kingdom of Congo, south of the Line, and on the Atlantic Ocean, as the Galla have done that part of the kingdom of Adel and Abyssinia, on the Eastern or Indian Ocean. Purch. lib. ii. chap. 4. sect. 8.

† Sofalat addeheb, the coast or low country of gold, is the name given by the Arabs to this part of Africa.

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course of it, and very little skill in language would be necessary.

When no employment was found for this multitude of men and cattle, they left their homes; and, proceeding northward, found themselves involved near the Line, in rainy, cold, and cloudy weather, where they scarcely ever saw the sun. Impatient of such a climate, they advanced still farther, till about the year 1537, they appeared in great numbers in the province of Bali, abandoning the care of camels for the breeding of horses. At present they are all cavalry. I avoid to say more of them in this place, as I shall be obliged to make frequent mention of them in the course of my narrative.

The Falasha, too, are an Abyssinian people, having a particular language of their own; a specimen of which I have also published, as the history of the people seems to be curious. I do not, however, mean to say of them, more than of the Galla, that they were any part of those nations who fled from Palestine on the invasion of Joshua. For they are, by religion, Jews, and have traditions of their own as to their origin, and what reduced them to the present state of separation from the other inhabitants.

In order to gratify such as are curious in the study and history of language, I, with great pains and difficulty, got the whole book of the Canticles translated into each of these languages, by priests esteemed the most versant in the language of each nation. As this barbarous polyglot is of too large a size to print, I have contented myself with copying six verses of the first chapter in each language; but the whole book is at the service of any person of learning that will bestow his time in studying it, and, for this purpose, I left it in the British Museum, under the direction of Sir Joseph Banks, and the Bishop of Carlisle.

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These Convenæ, as we have observed, were called Habesh, a number of distinct nations meeting in one place. Scripture has given them a name, which our English translation improperly renders the *mingled people* * ; whereas it should be, the *separate nations, who, though met and settled together, did not mingle* †; which is fully expressed, both from the Ethiopic and Hebrew, by the Latin appellation *Convenæ*. The inhabitants, then, who possessed Abyssinia, from its southern boundary to the tropic of Cancer, or frontiers of Egypt, were the Cushites, or polished people, living in towns, first Troglodytes, dwelling in caves. The next were the Shepherds; after these were the nations who, as we apprehend, came from Palestine—Amhara, Agow of Damot, Agow of Tchera, and Gafat ‡.

Interpreters, much less acquainted with the historical circumstances of these countries, than the prophets, have, either from ignorance or inattention, occasioned an obscurity, which otherwise did not arise from the text. Many of these people are alluded to in scripture, by descriptions that cannot be mistaken. If they have occasioned doubts or difficulties, these must be imputed to the translators, and chiefly to the Septuagint. When Moses returned with his wife Zipporah,

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* Jerem. chap. xiii. ver. 23.—id. xxv. 24.—Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 5.

† The term Habbesh has been discovered in Arabia; it applied there to an assemblage made from various tribes, all of Arabic race. It appears to me that the Axomite colony was so called, because it was formed of many kindred tribes of Arabs, without regard to the Falasha, or others.—E.

‡ It is surely rather adventurous to bring these four nations from Canaan, when, as is obvious from the specimens given in this Chapter, their languages have no affinity to those of the Canaanites.—E.

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daughter of the sovereign of the Shepherds of Midian, carriers of the India trade from Saba into Palestine, and established near their principal mart Edom, in Idumea or Arabia, Aaron, and Miriam his sister, quarrelled with Moses, because he had married one, who, as the translator says, was an Ethiopian*. There is no sense in this clause; Moses was a fugitive when he married Zipporah; she was a noble woman, daughter of the priest of Midian, head of a people. She likewise, as it would seem, was a Jewess†, and more attentive, at that time, to the preservation of the precepts of the law, (by the law is here meant the covenant with God and Abraham), than Moses himself. No exception, then, could lie against Zipporah, as she was surely, in every view, his superior. But if the translator had rendered it, that Aaron and Miriam quarrelled with Moses, because he had married a negro, or black-moor, the reproach was evident; whatever intrinsic merit Zipporah might have been found to have possessed afterwards, she must have appeared to the people as a strange woman, or Gentile, whom it was prohibited to marry. Besides the innate deformity of the complexion, negroes, were at all times, rather coveted for companions of men of luxury or pleasure, than sought after as wives for sober legislators, and governors of a people.

The next instance I shall give is, of Zerah of Gerar ‡, who came out to fight Asa, king of Israel, with an army of a million of men, and three hundred chariots, whilst both the quarrel and the decision are represented as immediate.

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* Numb. chap. xii. ver. 1.
† Exod. chap. iv. ver. 25.
‡ 2 Chron. chap. xiv. ver. 9.

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Gerar was a small district, producing only the Acacia, or gum-arabic tree, from which it had its name. It had no water but what came from a few wells, part of which had been dug by Abraham*, after much strife with the people of the country, who sought to deprive him of them, as of a treasure. Abraham and his brother Lot returning from Egypt, though shepherds, could not subsist for want of food and water, and they separated accordingly, by consent†. For that very reason now, it must be confessed, as no miracle is pretended here, that there is not a more unlikely tale in all Herodotus, than this, upon the footing of the translation. The translator calls Zerah an Ethiopian, which should either mean he dwelt in Arabia, as he really did, and this gave him no advantage, or else that he was a stranger, who originally came from the country above Egypt; and, either way, it would have been impossible, during his whole lifetime, to have collected a million of men, one of the greatest armies that ever stood upon the face of the earth, nor could he have fed them, though they had ate the whole trees that grew in his country, nor could he have given every hundredth man one drink of water in a day from all the wells he had in his native land, because, as I have said, no supernatural means are pretended. But had it been translated, that Zerah was a black-moor, a Cushite-negro, and prince of the Cushites, that were carriers in the Isthmus, an Ethiopian shepherd, then the wonder ceased. Twenty camels, employed to carry couriers upon them, might have procured that number of men to meet in a short space of time, and, as Zerah was the aggressor, he

* Gen. chap. xxi. ver. 30.
† Gen. chap. xiii. ver. 6. and 9.

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had time to choose when he should attack his enemy; every one of these shepherds, carrying with them their provision of flour and water, as is their invariable custom, might have fought with Asa at Gerar*, without eating a loaf of Zerah's bread, or drinking a pint of his water.

The next passage I shall mention is the following: "The labour of Egypt, and merchandise of Ethiopia, "and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over "unto thee, and they shall be thine†." Here the several nations are distinctly and separately mentioned in their places; but the whole meaning of the passage would have been lost, had not the situation of these nations been perfectly known; or, had not the Sabeans been mentioned separately, for both the Sabeans and the Cushites were certainly Ethiopians. Now, the meaning of the verse is, that the fruit of the agriculture of Egypt, which is wheat, the commodities of the negroes, gold, silver, ivory and perfumes, would be brought by the Sabean shepherds, their carriers, a nation of great power, which shall join themselves with you.

Again, Ezekiel says‡, "And they shall know that "I am the Lord, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and "when all her helpers shall be destroyed."—"In "that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships, "to make the careless Ethiopians afraid." Now, Nebuchadnezzar was to destroy Egypt||, from the frontiers

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* Zerah commanded the Cushites (Ethiopians), and Lubim (Lybians). By the account of Asa's victory given in the Jewish annals, it appears, that Gerar was at that time a settlement of the Nomad Cushites. The conjunction of the two names, Cushites and Lybians, determines that these warriors were African, not Arabian shepherds.—E.

† Isa. chap. xlv. ver. 14.

‡ Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 8. and 9.

|| Ezek. chap. xxix. ver. 10.

of Palestine, to the mountains above Atbara, where the Cushite dwelt. Between this and Egypt is a great desert; the country beyond it, and on both sides, was possessed by half a million of men. The Cushite, or negro merchant, was secure, under these circumstances, from any insult by land, but open by the sea, and had no defender; and messengers, therefore, in ships or a fleet had easy access to them, to alarm and keep them at home, that they might not fall into danger by marching into Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar, or interrupting the service upon which God had sent him. But this does not appear from translating Cush, Ethiopian; the nearest Ethiopians to Nebuchadnezzar, the most powerful and capable of opposing him, were the Ethiopian shepherds of the Thebaid, and these were not accessible to ships; and the shepherds, so posted near to the scene of destruction to be committed by Nebuchadnezzar, were enemies to the Cushites living in towns, and they had repeatedly themselves destroyed them, and therefore had no temptation to be other than spectators.

In several other places, the same prophet speaks of Cush as the commercial nation, sympathising with its countrymen dwelling in the towns of Egypt, independent of the shepherds, who were really their enemies, both in civil and religious matters. "And "the sword shall come upon Egypt, and great pain "shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in "Egypt*." Now Ethiopia, as I have before said, that is, the low country of the shepherds, nearest Egypt, had no common cause with the Cushites that lived in towns there; it was their countrymen, the Cushites in Ethiopia, who mourned for those that fell

* Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 4.

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in Egypt, who were merchants, traders, and dwelt in cities, like themselves.

I shall mention but one instance more: "Can the "Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his "spots*?" Here Cush is rendered Ethiopian, and many Ethiopians being white, it does not appear why they should be fixed upon, or chosen for the question more than any other people. But had Cush been translated negro, or black-moor, the question would have been very easily understood—Can the negro change his skin, or the leopard his spots?

Jeremiah† speaks of the chiefs of the mingled people that dwell in the desert; and Ezekiel‡, also mentions them as independent of all others, whether Shepherds, or Cushites, or Lybians their neighbours, by the name of the Mingled People. Isaiah‖ calls them "a nation scattered and peeled; a people ter-"rible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted "out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have "spoiled:" which is a sufficient description of them, as having been expelled their own country, and settled in one that had suffered greatly by a deluge a short time before.

* Jerem. chap. xiii. ver. 23.
† Jerem. chap. xxv. ver. 24.
‡ Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 5.
‖ Isa. chap. xviii. ver. 2.

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CHAP. III.

Origin of Characters or Letters—Ethiopic the first Language—How and why the Hebrew Letter was formed.

THE reader will observe what I have already said concerning the languages of Habesh, or the Mingled Nations, that they have not characters of their own; but when written, which is very seldom, it must be by using the Geez alphabet. Kircher, however, says, there are two characters found in Abyssinia; one he calls the Sacred Old Syrian, the other the Vulgar, or common Geez character, of which we are now speaking. But this is certainly a mistake; there never were, that I know of, but two original characters which obtained in Egypt. The first was the Geez, the second the Saitic, and both these were the oldest characters in the world, and both derived from hieroglyphics.

Although it is impossible to avoid saying something here of the origin of languages, the reader must not expect that I should go very deep into the fashionable opinions concerning them, or believe that all the old deities of the Pagan nations were the patriarchs of the Old Testament. With all respect to Sanchoniatho and his followers, I can no more believe that Osiris, the first king of Egypt, was a real personage, and that Tot was his secretary, than I can believe Saturn to be the patriarch Abraham, and Rachel and Leah, Venus and Minerva. I will not fatigue the reader

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with a detail of useless reasons; if Osiris is a real personage, if he was king of Egypt, and Tot his secretary, they surely travelled to very good purpose, as all the people of Europe and Asia seem to be agreed, that in person they first communicated to them letters and the art of writing, but at very different, and very distant periods.

Thebes was built by a colony of Ethiopians from Sirè, the city of Seir, or the Dog-star. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Greeks, by putting O before Siris, had made the word unintelligible to the Egyptians. Siris, then, was Osiris; but he was not the Sun, no more than he was Abraham, nor was he a real personage. He was Sirius, or the Dog-star, designed under the figure of a dog, because of the warning he gave to Atbara, when the first observations were made there, at his heliacal rising, or his disengaging himself from the rays of the sun, so as to be visible to the naked eye. He was the Latrator Anubis; and his first appearance was figuratively compared to the barking of a dog, by the warning it gave to prepare for the approaching inundation. I believe, therefore, that this was the first hieroglyphic; and that Isis, Osiris, and Tot, were all later inventions relating to it; and, in saying this, I am so far warranted, because there is not in Axum (once a large city) any other hieroglyphic but of the dog-star, as far as I can judge from the huge fragments of figures of this animal; remains of which, in different postures, are still distinctly to be seen upon the pedestals every where among the ruins *.

It is not then to be doubted, that hieroglyphics, but

* Seyâra is a planet in Amharic, but it is no doubt from the Arabic.—E.

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not astronomy, were invented at Thebes, where the theory of the dog-star was particularly investigated, because connected with their rural year. Ptolemy * has preserved to us an observation of an heliacal rising of Sirius on the 4th day after the summer solstice, which answers to the 2250th year before Christ; and there are great reasons to believe the Thebans were good practical astronomers long before that period †. Early as it may be thought, this gives to Thebes a much greater antiquity than does the Chronicle of Axum just cited.

As such observations were to be of service for ever, they became more valuable and useful in proportion to their priority. The most ancient of them would be of use to the astronomers of this day; for Sir Isaac Newton appeals to those of Chiron the Centaur. Equations may indeed be discovered in a number of centuries, which, by reason of the smallness of their quantities, very probably may have escaped the most attentive and scrupulous care of two or three generations; and many alterations in the starry firmament, old stars nearly extinguished, and new ones emerging, would appear from a comparative state of the heavens made for a series of ages. A Theban Herschel ‡ would have given us the history of planets he then observed, which, after appearing for ages, are now visible no more, or have taken a different form.

The dial, or gold circle of Osimandyas, shews what an immense progress they had made in astronomy in so little time. This, too, is a proof of an early fall, and revival of the arts in Egypt; for the knowledge and use of Armillæ had been lost with the destruction

* Uranologion. P. Petau.
† Banbridge. Ann. canicul.
‡ An astronomer greatly above my praise.

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of Thebes, and were not again discovered, that is, revived, till the reign of Ptolemy Soter, 300 years before the Christian æra. I consider that immense quantity of hieroglyphics, with which the walls of the temples, and faces of the obelisks, are covered, as containing so many astronomical observations*.

I look upon these as the ephemerides of some thousand years; and that sufficiently accounts for their number. Their date and accuracy were indisputable; they were exhibited in the most public places, to be consulted as occasion required; and, by the deepness of the engraving, the hardness of the materials, and the thickness and solidity of the block itself upon which they were carved, they bade defiance at once to violence and time.

I know that most learned writers are of sentiments very different from mine in these respects. They look for mysteries and hidden meanings, moral and philosophical treatises, in these hieroglyphics. A sceptre, they say is the hieroglyphic of a king. But where do we meet with a sceptre upon an antique Egyptian monument? or who told us this was an emblem of royalty among the Egyptians at the time of the first invention of this figurative writing? Again, the serpent with the tail in its mouth denotes the eternity of God, that he is without beginning and without end. This is a Christian truth, and Christian belief, but no where to be found in the polytheism of the inventors of hieroglyphics. Was Cronos or Ouranus without beginning and without end? Was this the case with Osiris and Tot, whose fathers and mothers' births and marriages are known? If this was a truth independent of revelation, and im-

* A plausible theory, more flattering to ancient science, than certain.—E.

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printed from the beginning in the minds of men; if it was destined to be an eternal truth, which must have appeared by every man finding it in his own breast, how unneccessary must the trouble have been to write a common known truth like this, at the expence of six weeks labour, upon a table of porpyhry or granite.

It is not with philosophy as with astronomy; the older the observations, they are of the more use to posterity. A lecture of an Egyptian priest upon divinity, morality, or natural history, would not pay the trouble, at this day, of engraving it upon stone; and one of the reasons that I think no such subjects were ever treated of in hieroglyphics is, that in all those I ever had an opportunity of seeing, and very few people have seen more, I have constantly found the same figures repeated, which obviously, and without dispute, allude to the history of the Nile, and its different periods of increase, the mode of measuring it, the Etesian winds; in short, such observations as we every day see in an almanack, in which we cannot suppose, that, forsaking the obvious import, where the good they did was evident, they should ascribe different meanings to the hieroglyphic, to which no key has been left, and therefore its future inutility must have been foreseen.

I shall content myself in this wide field, to fix upon one famous hieroglyphical personage, Tot, the secretary of Osiris, whose function I shall endeavour to explain. If I fail, I am in good company; I give it only as my opinion, and submit it cheerfully to the correction of others. The word Tot* is Ethiopic,

* This etymology is quite inadmissible: Tot is not a word but a symbol; though the figure somewhat resembles the letter T with a

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and there can be little doubt that it means the dog-star. It was the name given to the first month of the Egyptian year. The meaning of the name, in the language of the province of Sirè, is an idol, composed of different heterogeneous pieces; it is found having this signification in many of their books. Thus a naked man is not a Tot; but the body of a naked man, with a dog's or an ass's head, or a serpent instead of a head, is a Tot. According to the import of that word, it is, I suppose, an almanack, or section of the phenomena in the heavens which are to happen in the limited time it is made to comprehend, exposed for the information of the public; and the more extensive its use is intended to be, the greater number of emblems, or signs of observation, it is charged with.

Besides many other emblems and figures, the common Tot, I think, has in his hand a cross with a handle, or Crux Ansata, which has occasioned great speculation among the decypherers. This cross, fixed to a circle, is supposed to denote the four elements, and to be the symbol of the influence

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cypher above it. It is scarcely necessary to add, that it was by this hieroglyphic the Egyptians denoted the prolific power of Nature. The symbol was not reckoned so profane as it may appear in the present times; it is found sculptured on the walls of many a sanctuary, where, whatever we may think of Egyptian superstition, no licentious impurity was admitted. The priests of Jupiter Ammon, if we can believe ancient history, were not so irregular in their conduct as the ignorant populace at Mendes and Canobus. When Egypt was converted to Christianity, and the temples were either deserted or destroyed, some of the new converts affirmed, that the religion of the cross had long been predicted in Egypt; and as a proof of this, they pointed to the Cruces ansatæ sculptured on the adyta of these buildings. These symbols were sacred to Osiris, or the Sun, who was believed to be the male power of generation.—E.

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which the sun has over them. Jamblichus* records, that this cross, in the hand of Tot, is the name of the divine Being that travels through the world. Sozomen† thinks it means the life to come, the same with the ineffable image of eternity. Others, strange difference indeed! say it is the phallus, or human genitals, while a later‡ writer maintains it to be the mariner's compass. My opinion, on the contrary, is, that, as this figure was exposed to the public for the reason I have mentioned, the Crux Ansata in his hand was nothing else but a monogram of his own name TO, and T°T signifying TOT, as we write Almanack upon a collection published for the same purpose.

The changing of these emblems, and the multitude of them, produced the necessity of contracting their size, and this again a consequential alteration in the original forms; and a style, or small portable instrument, became all that was necessary for finishing these small Tots, instead of a large graver or carving tool, employed in making the large ones. But men, at last, were so much used to the alteration, as to know it better than under its primitive form, and the engraving became what we may call the first elements, or root, in preference to the original.

The reader will see, that, in my history of the civil wars in Abyssinia, the king, forced by rebellion to retire to the province of Tigré, and being at Axum, found a stone covered with hieroglyphics, which, by the many inquiries I had made after inscriptions, and some conversations I had had with him, he guessed was of the kind which I wanted. Full of that princely good-

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* Jamblich. de Myst. sect. 8. cap 5.

† Sozomen, Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 15.

‡ Herw. theolog. Ethnica, p. 11.

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ness and condescension with which he ever honoured me, throughout my whole stay, he brought it with him when he returned from Tigre, and was restored to his throne at Gondar.

It seems to me to be one of those private Tots, or portable almanacks, of the most curious kind. The length of the whole stone is fourteen inches, and six inches broad, upon a base three inches high, projecting from the block itself, and covered with hieroglyphics. A naked figure of a man, near six inches, stands upon two crocodiles, their heads turned different ways. In each of his hands he holds two serpents, and a scorpion, all by the tail, and in the right hand hangs a noose, in which is suspended a ram or goat. On the left hand he holds a lion by the tail. The figure is in great relief; and the head of it has that kind of cap or ornament which is generally painted upon the head of the figure called Isis, but this figure is that of a man. On each side of the whole-length figure, and above it, upon the face of the stone where it projects, are marked a number of hieroglyphics of all kinds. Over this is a very remarkable representation; it is an old head, with very strong features, and a large bushy beard, and upon it a high cap, ribbed or striped. This I take to be the Cnuph, or Animus Mundi, though Apuleius, with very little probability, says, this was made in the likeness of no creature whatever. The back of the stone is divided into eight compartments *, from the top to the bottom, and these are filled with hieroglyphics in the last stage, before they took the entire resemblance of let-

* I apprehend this is owing to the circumstances of the climate, in the four months, the time of the inundation, when the heavens were so covered as to afford no observations to be recorded.

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ters. Many are perfectly formed; the Crux Ansata appears in one of the compartments, and Tot in another. Upon the edge, just above where it is broken, is 1119, so fair and perfect in form, that it might serve as an example of caligraphy, even in the present times; 45 and 19, and some other arithmetical figures, are found up and down among the hieroglyphics*.

This I suppose was what formerly the Egyptians called a book or almanack; a collection of which was probably hung up in some conspicuous place, to inform the public of the state of the heavens, and seasons, and diseases, to be expected in the course of them, as is the case in the English almanacks at this day. Hermes is said to have composed 36,535 books, probably of this sort; or they might contain the correspondent astronomical observations made in a certain time at Meroë, Ophir, Axum, or Thebes, communicated to be hung up for the use of the neighbouring cities. Porphyry† gives a particular account of the Egyptian almanacks. "What is comprised in the Egyptian almanacks," says he, "contains but a small part of the Hermaic institutions; all that relates to the rising and setting of the moon and planets, and of the stars and their influence, and also some advice upon diseases."

It is very remarkable, that, besides my Tot here described, there are five or six, precisely the same in all respects, already in the British Museum; one of them, the largest of the whole, is made of sycamore, the

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* On inspection of the drawing (the original stone is at Kinnaird,) it is evident that these characters are not figures; the figures supposed to be 111, are short symbols occuring separately elsewhere, and the 9 is merely a reptile or little serpent in a coiled state.—E.

† Porphyrii Epist. ad Anebonem.

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others are of metal. There is another, I am told, in Lord Shelburne's collection; this I never had an opportunity of seeing; but very particular attention seems to have been paid to make all of them light and portable, and it would seem that by these having been formed so exactly similar, they were the Tots intended to be exposed in different cities or places, and were neither more nor less than Egyptian almanacks.

Whether letters were known to Noah before the flood, is no where said from any authority, and the inquiry into it is therefore impracticable. It is difficult, in my opinion, to imagine, that any society, engaged in different occupations, could subsist long without them. There seems to be less doubt, that they were invented soon after the dispersion, long before Moses, and in common use among the Gentiles of his time.

It is thought by some, that the first alphabet was Ethiopic, founded on hieroglyphics, and afterwards modelled into more current, and less laborious figures, for the sake of expedition in business. Mr Fourmont is so much of this opinion, that he says it is evident the three first letters of the Ethiopic alphabet are hieroglyphics yet, and that the beta resembles the door of a house or temple. But, with great submission, the doors of houses and temples, when first built, were square at the top, for arches were not known. The beta must have been taken from an earlier example than this, the doors of the first Troglodytes in the mountains, which were rounded, and gave the hint for turning the arch, when architecture advanced nearer to perfection.

Others are for giving letters a divine original: they say they were taught to Abraham by God himself; but this is no where vouched, though it cannot be denied, that it appears from Scripture there were

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two sorts of characters already known to Moses, when God spoke to him on Mount Sinai. The first two tables, we are told, were wrote by the finger of God, in what character is not said; but as Moses received them to read to the people, so he surely understood them. But, after he had broken these two tables, and had another meeting with God on the mount on the subject of the law, God directs him specially not to write in the Egyptian character or hieroglyphics, but in the current hand used by the Ethiopian merchants, like the letters upon a signet; that is, he should not write by a picture representing the thing; for that the law forbids, and the bad consequences of this were evident; but he should write the law in the current hand, by characters representing sounds (though nothing else in heaven or on earth), or by the letters that the Ishmaelites, Cushites, and India-trading nations on the continent, had long used in business for signing their invoices, engagements, &c. and this was the meaning of being like the letters of a signet*.

Hence, it is very clear, that God did not invent letters, nor did Moses, who understood both characters before the promulgation of the law upon Mount Sinai, having learned them in Egypt, and during his long

* Engraving upon gems and stones used as seals, is well known to be a very ancient and curious art. It is older than the days of Abraham; and seems to have been much practised in Egypt. It is remarkable, that the Coptic language uses the same name for the art, that is given by Moses; phatah, in the Hebrew, being constantly applied to seal-engraving, and to writing in the Egyptian translation. Perhaps some of the gems, having the earliest forms of the alphabet, and coeval with the highest antiquity, may still exist. The names of the twelve tribes were engraved on twelve of these in the Urim and Thummim, a symbol borrowed from the Egyptians. The president of the judges of Heliopolis wore a similar ornament.—E.

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stay among the Cushites and Shepherds in Arabia Petrea. Hence it would appear also, that the sacred character of the Egyptian was considered as profane, and forbid to the Hebrews, and that the common Ethiopic was the Hebrew sacred character, in which the copy of the law was first wrote. The text is very clear and explicit: "And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet; every one with his name, shall they be according to the twelve tribes*." Which is plainly, You shall not write in the way used till this day, for it leads the people into idolatry; you shall not represent Judah by a lion, Zebulun by a ship, Issachar by an ass couching between two burdens; but, instead of writing by pictures, you shall take the other known hand, the merchants' writing, which represents sounds, not things; write the names Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, in the letters, such as the merchants use upon their signets. And, on Aaron's breastplate of pure gold, was to be written, in the same alphabet, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD†.

These signets, of the remotest antiquity in the East, are worn still upon every man's hand at this day, having the name of the person that wears them, or some sentence upon it, always religious. The Greeks, after the Egyptians, continued the other method, and described figures upon their signets; the use of both, as far as we know, has been always common in Britain ‡.

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* Exod. chap. xxviii. ver. 21.

† Exod. chap. xxviii. ver. 36.

‡ The second commandment seems to allude to the state of religion at that time in Egypt. It appears from many hints in the laws of Moses, that symbols of the sun and moon, the ox, the

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We find afterwards, that, instead of stone or gold, for greater convenience Moses wrote in a book; "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished*."

Although Moses certainly did not invent either, nor any character, it is probable that he made two, perhaps more, alterations in the Ethiopic alphabet as it then stood, with a view to increase the difference still more between the writing then in use among the nations, and what he intended to be peculiar to the Jews. The first was altering the direction, and writing from right to left, whereas the Ethiopian was, and is to this day, written from left to right, as was the hieroglyphical alphabet†. The second was taking away the points; which, from all times, must have existed, and been, as it were, a part of the Ethiopic letters invented with them, and I do not see how it is possible it ever could have been read without them; so that, which way soever the dispute may turn concerning the antiquity of the application of the Masoretic points, the invention was no new one, but existed as early as language was written. And I apprehend, that these alterations were very rapidly adopted after the writing of the law, and applied to the new character as it then stood; because, not long after, Moses was ordered to submit the law itself to the people, which would have been perfectly useless, had not

sheep, and several birds and fishes, were bowed down before, and worshipped in Mesraim; that is to say, On, or Osiris, Io, Isis, the Apis, the Latus, and Oxyrrhynchus, had already begun to receive honours, as representative of the Deity.—E.

* Deut. chap. xxxi. ver. 24.

† Vide the hieroglyphics on the drawing of the stone.

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reading, and the character been familiar to them at that time.

It appears to me also, that the Ethiopic words were always separated, and could not run together, or be joined as the Hebrew, and that the running the words together, must have been matter of choice in the Hebrew, to increase the difference in writing the two languages, as the contrary had been practised in the Ethiopian language *. Though there is really little re-

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* This is perhaps the most untenable part of all the author's theory. The Ethiopic characters are perhaps nothing else but the Coptic forms of the Greek alphabet, modelled on the plan of the Arabic, deranged from their former order, and made rude by the hands of barbarous scribes. The change made in the Arabic alphabet, by Ibn Mocla, is well known; but it expresses none of the vowels. Long before that time, the missionaries, who first wrote the Geez, took the Greek alphabet from Egypt; but finding that the language was more related to the Arabic and Hebrew than the Greek, they still retained such of these letters as were consonants, with which they expressed the Geez words in the Arabic or Hebrew manner. But the history of attaching to each consonant a particular mark, expressing each of the vowels, is extremely curious, as it exhibits the highest improvement of the pointing system.

For many ages after the invention of letters, we know of no language to which they were applied, but the dialects of that general tongue, which appears from Moses to have been spoken by Noah. These were the Hebrew, Phœnician, Chaldee, Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic, all nearly allied, and of the same race. In fact, the alphabet, in its earliest form, affords proof that it had been invented for some of these. The vowels are very remarkable parts of words; but he who first analysed articulate speech into its component parts, appears to have analysed either the Phœnician or Hebrew; and to have discovered, from the peculiar texture of their radicals, that the vowels might be suppressed; that the consonants would sufficiently point out the omission to a practised reader, and furnish a compendium in writing: And accordingly, in this manner, all those dialects have ever been written.

The first foreign language, to which the Phœnician alphabet was applied, appears to have been the Greek. The history of Cadmus is generally known; but the change which was effected in

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semblance between the Ethiopic and the Hebrew letters, and not much more between these and the Samaritan, yet I have a very great suspicion the languages were once much nearer a-kin than this disagreement of their alphabet promises; and for this reason, that a very great number of words are found throughout the Old Testament, that have really no root, nor can be derived from any Hebrew origin, and yet all have, in the Ethiopic, a plain, clear, unequivocal origin, to and from which they can be traced without force or difficulty.

I shall now finish what I have to say upon this subject, by observing, that the Ethiopic alphabet consists of twenty-six letters, each of these, by a virgula, or point annexed, varying in sound, so as to become, in

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the order and form of his alphabet, has excited little attention. The Greek is so full of vowels, that were the consonants only expressed, it would be altogether unintelligible to the reader. As the Phœnician names of the letters were imported with the characters themselves, it occurred to the first writers of Greek, that certain characters, not very requisite in their original sound, might serve to denote the first vowel in their name. Alpha and Iota lost the very slender aspiration which they originally had in Phœnician, to supply the place of A and I. He dropt its guttural sound for the short vowel E, found in its name. Heth, the strong harsh aspiration of the Tyrians and Hebrews, long retained its power as H, the *spiritus asper* of the Greeks; at last, however, this character was applied to mark ἦτα, or *e* long. Characters for the remaining vowels were obtained by the same process; and from this new form of the alphabet, descended all the European varieties.

But when the Greek language and literature became current in Syria, and other countries of the East, these nations saw the deficient state of their ancient orthography, and endeavoured to correct it by writing the *Greek vowels* in a smaller hand, above or below the consonants of their native alphabet. This curious method, the parent of the Masoretic, Syriac, and Arabic pointing, may be traced in *Crinesii Gram. Syriacum; de Vocal. prope init.*

Expedition and improvement soon rendered the figures of these

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effect, one hundred and fifty-six distinct letters. But I must further add, that at first they had but twenty-five of these original letters, the Latin P being wanting, so that they were obliged to substitute another letter in place of it. Paulus, for example, they called Taulus, Oulus, or Caulus. Petros they pronounced Ketros. At last they substituted T, and added this to the end of their alphabet, giving it the force of P, though it was really a repetition of a character, rather than an invention. Besides these, there are twenty others of the nature of diphthongs; but I should suppose some of these are not of the same antiquity with the letters of the alphabet, but have been invented in latter times, by the scribes, for convenience.

The reader will understand, that, speaking of the Ethiopic at present, I mean only the Geez language, the language of the Shepherds, and of the books. None of the many other languages, spoken in Abyssinia, have characters for writing them. But when the Amharic was

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borrowed vowels very simple and rude; but the practice was eagerly embraced by the Jewish doctors, who longed to embalm their sacred tongue, and fix for ever its traditional pronunciation. They speedily multiplied the original figures; but under all the changes which these have undergone, a patient observer may discern that the principal vowel points retain a slight resemblance of form; and exactly the position above or below the consonant which the Greek vowels occupied in the Syriac MSS. But the last and greatest stage of improvement was, to fix these separate points to the consonant itself. This was accomplished by the formers of the Geez, or Ethiopic alphabet, who applied the vowel points to the Greek letters; and hence every consonant received six variations in its figure, corresponding to the six vowels in the language. It requires nothing but a very slight occular examination, to convince any observer, that all the change of figure in the consonants of the Geez alphabet, is entirely owing to the addition of the vowel point, however diversified each of these may appear. Dr Bernard's table of the ancient alphabets sufficiently confirms the truth of this assertion.—E.

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substituted, in common use and conversation, for the Geez, after the restoration of the Royal Family from their long banishment in Shoa, seven new characters were necessarily added, to answer the pronunciation of this new language, and these apparently were invented by the scribes; but no book was ever yet written in any other language except Geez. On the contrary, there is an old law in this country, handed down by tradition only, that whoever should attempt to translate the Holy Scripture into Amharic, or any other language, his throat should be cut after the manner in which they kill sheep, his family sold to slavery, and his house razed to the ground; and, whether the fear of this law was true or feigned, it was a great obstacle to me in getting those translations of the Song of Solomon made, which I intend for specimens of the different languages of those distinct nations.

The Geez is exceedingly harsh and unharmonious. It is full of these two letters, D and T, on which an accent is put that nearly resembles lisping. Considering the small extent of sea that divides this country from Arabia, we are not to wonder that it has great affinity to the Arabic. It is not difficult to be acquired by those who understand any other of the oriental languages; and, for a reason I have given some time ago, that the roots of many Hebrew words are only to be found here, I think it absolutely necessary to all those that would obtain a critical skill in that language.

Wemmers, a Carmelite, has written a small Ethiopic dictionary in thin quarto, which, as far as it goes, has considerable merit; and I am told there are others of the same kind extant, written chiefly by Catholic priests. But by far the most copious, distinct, and best digested work, is that of Job Ludolf, a German of great learning in the Eastern

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languages, who has published a grammar and dictionary of the Geez in folio. These, read with attention, are more than sufficient to make any person of very moderate genius a great proficient in the Ethiopic language. He has likewise written a short essay towards a dictionary and grammar of the Amharic, which, considering the very small help he had, shews his surprising talents and capacity. Much, however, still remains to be done; and it is indeed scarcely possible to bring this to any tolerable degree of forwardness for want of books, unless a man of genius, while in the country itself, were to give his time and application to it: It is not much more difficult than the former, and less connected with the Hebrew or Arabic, but has a more harmonious pronunciation. However, as there are no books in this language, we scarcely can expect any other person will dedicate his time to so useless an undertaking *.

* This encomium on Ludolf, is a sufficient atonement for all the liberties which Mr Bruce has taken with the Jesuits and their followers. It is as just as it is grateful: For, if any person in Europe attain to a knowledge of Geez and Amharic, it must be through the medium of his labours.—E.

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CHAP. IV.

Some account of the Trade Winds and Monsoons—Application of this to the Voyage to Ophir and Tarshish.

It affords an afflicting proof of the vanity of all human attainments, and of the fate of the highest merit, when we reflect, that we have been employed in describing and drawing from oblivion, the history of those very nations, that first conveyed to the world, not the elements of literature only, but all sorts of learning, arts, and sciences. We see that these had taken deep root, and were not easily extirpated. The first great and fatal blow they received was the destruction of Thebes and its monarchy, by the invasion of the Shepherds under Salatis, which shook them to the very foundation. The next was in the conquest of the Thebaid under Sabaco and his Shepherds. The third was when the empire of Lower Egypt (not including the Thebaid) was transferred to Memphis, and that city taken, as writers say, by the Shepherds of Abaris only, or of the Delta; though it is scarcely probable, that, in so favourite a cause as the destruction of cities, the whole Shepherd nation did not lend its assistance.

These were the chief calamities, we may suppose, under which the arts in Egypt fell; for, as to the foreign

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conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, and his Babylonians, they affected cities and the persons of individuals only. They were temporary, never intended to have lasting consequences; their beginning and end were prophesied at the same time. That of the Chaldeans was a plundering expedition only, as we are told by Scripture itself, intended to last but forty years*, half the life of man, and given to indemnify Nebuchadnezzar, for the hardships he sustained at the siege of Tyre. The Babylonians were a people the most polished after the Egyptians. Egypt under them suffered by rapacity, not by ignorance, as it did in all the conquests of the Shepherds.

After Thebes was destroyed by the first Shepherds, commerce, and probably the arts along with it, fled for a time from Egypt, and centered in Edom, a city and territory, though we know little of its history, at that period the richest in the world. David, in the very neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, calls Edom the strong city: "Who will bring me unto the strong city? Who will lead me unto Edom†?" From an old quarrel, and probably from the recent instigation of the Tyrians, his friends, that prince invaded Edom‡, destroyed the city, and dispersed the people. He was the greatest military power then upon the continent; Tyre and Edom were rivals; and his conquest of that last great and trading state, which he united to his empire, would yet have lost him the trade he sought to cultivate, by the very means he used to obtain it, had not Tyre been able to succeed to Edom, and to

* Ezek. chap. xxix. ver. 11.
† Psalm lx. ver. 9. and Psal. cviii. ver. 10.
‡ 2 Sam. chap. viii. ver. 14. 1 Kings, chap. xi. ver. 15, 16.

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collect its mariners and artificers, scattered abroad by the conquest.

David took possession of two ports, Eloth and Ezion-gaber*, from which he carried on the trade to Ophir and Tarshish, to a very great extent, to the day of his death. We are struck with astonishment when we reflect upon the sum that Prince received in so short a time from these mines of Ophir. For what is said to be given by King David† and his princes for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, exceeds in value eight hundred millions of our money, if the talent there spoken of is a Hebrew talent‡, and not a weight of the same denomination, the value of which was less, and peculiarly reserved for and used in the traffic of these precious metals, gold and silver. It was, probably, an African or Indian weight, peculiar to the same mines whence was gotten the gold, appropriated to fine commodities only, as is the case with our ounce Troy, different from the Avoirdupois.

Solomon, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, was his successor likewise in the friendship of Hiram, king of Tyre. Solomon visited Eloth and Ezion-gaber§ in person, and fortified them. He collected a number of pilots, shipwrights, and mariners, dispersed

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* 1 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 26. 2 Chron. chap. viii. ver. 17.

† 1 Chron. chap. xxii. ver. 14, 15, 16. Chap. xxix. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.—Three thousand Hebrew talents of gold, reduced to our money, amount to twenty-one millions and six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

‡ The value of a Hebrew talent, appears from Exodus, chap. xxxviii. ver. 25, 26. For 603,550 persons being taxed at half a shekel each, they must have paid in the whole 301,775; now that sum is said to amount to 100 talents, 1775 shekels only; deduct the two latter sums, and there will remain 300,000, which, divided by 100, will leave 3000 shekels for each of these talents.

§ 2 Chron. chap. viii. ver. 17.

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by his father's conquest of Edom, most of whom had taken refuge in Tyre and Sidon, the commercial states on the Mediterranean. Hiram supplied him with sailors in abundance; but the sailors so furnished from Tyre were not capable of performing the service which Solomon required, without the direction of pilots and mariners used to the navigation of the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Such were those mariners who formerly lived in Edom, whom Solomon had now collected in Eloth and Ezion-gaber.

This last-mentioned navigation was very different in all respects from that of the Mediterranean, which, in respect to the former, might be compared to a pond, every side being confined with shores little distant one from another; even that small extent of sea was so full of islands, that there was much greater art required in the pilot to avoid land than to reach it. It was, besides, subject to variable winds, being to the northward of 30° of latitude, the limits to which Providence hath confined those winds all over the globe; whereas the navigation of the Indian Ocean was governed by laws more convenient and regular, though altogether different from those that obtained in the Mediterranean. Before I proceed, it will be necessary to explain this phenomenon.

It is known to all those who are ever so little versant in the history of Egypt, that the wind from the north prevails in that valley all the summer months, and is called the Etesian wind; it sweeps the valley from north to south, that being the direction of Egypt, and of the Nile, which runs through the midst of it. The two chains of mountains, which confine Egypt on the east and on the west, constrain the wind to take this precise direction.

It is natural to suppose the same would be the case in the Arabian Gulf, had that narrow sea been in a

direction parallel to the land of Egypt, or due north and south. The Arabian Gulf, however, or what we call the Red Sea, lies from nearly north-west to south-east, from Suez to Mocha. It then turns nearly east and west till it joins the Indian Ocean at the Straits of Babelmandeb, as we have already said, and may be further seen by consulting the map. Now, the Etesian winds, which are due north in Egypt, here take the direction of the Gulf, and blow in that direction steadily all the season, while it continues north in the valley of Egypt; that is, from April to October the wind blows north-west up the Arabian Gulf towards the Straits; and, from November till March, directly contrary, down the Arabian Gulf, from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Suez and the Isthmus.

These winds are by some corruptly called the trade-winds; but this name given to them is a very erroneous one, and apt to confound narratives, and make them unintelligible. A trade wind is a wind which, all the year through, blows, and has ever blown, from the same point of the horizon; such is the south-west one, south of the Line, in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. On the contrary, these winds, of which we have now spoken, are called monsoons; each year they blow six months from the northward, and the other six months from the southward, in the Arabian Gulf: While in the Indian Ocean, without the Straits of Babelmandeb, they blow just the contrary at the same seasons; that is, in summer from the southward, and in winter from the northward, subject to a small inflexion to the east and to the west.

The reader will observe, then, that a vessel sailing from Suez or the Elanitic Gulf, in any of the summer months, will find a steady wind at north-west, which will carry it in the direction of the Gulf to Mocha. At Mocha, the coast is east and west to the Straits of

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Babelmandeb, so that the vessel from Mocha will have variable winds for a short space, but mostly westerly, and these will carry her on to the Straits. She is then done with the monsoon in the Gulf, which was from the north; and, being in the Indian Ocean, is taken up by the monsoon which blows in the summer months there, and is directly contrary to what obtains in the Gulf. This is a south-wester, which carries the vessel with a flowing sail to any part in India, without delay or impediment.

The same happens upon her return home. She sails in the winter months by the monsoon proper to that sea, that is, with a north-east, which carries her through the Straits of Babelmandeb. She finds, within the Gulf, a wind at south-east, directly contrary to what was in the ocean; but then her course is contrary likewise, so that a south-easter, answering to the direction of the Gulf, carries her directly to Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, whichever way she proposes to go. Hitherto all is plain, simple, and easy to be understood; and this was the reason why, in the earliest ages, the India trade was carried on without difficulty.

Many doubts, however, have arisen about a port called Ophir, whence the immense quantities of gold and silver came, which were necessary at this time, when provision was making for building the Temple of Jerusalem. In what part of the world Ophir was, has not been yet agreed. Connected with this voyage, too, was one to Tarshish, which lies under the same difficulties; one and the same fleet performed them both in the same season.

In order to come to a certainty where this Ophir was, it will be necessary to examine what Scripture says of it, and to keep precisely to every thing like description which we can find there, without indul-

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ging our fancy farther. First, then, the trade to Ophir was carried on from the Elanitic Gulf through the Indian Ocean. Secondly, The returns were gold, silver, and ivory, but especially silver*. Thirdly, The time of the going and coming of the fleet was precisely three years†, at no period more nor less.

Now, if Solomon's fleet sailed from the Elanitic Gulf to the Indian Ocean, this voyage of necessity must have been made by monsoons, for no other winds reign in that ocean. And, what shews certainly this was the case, is the precise term of three years, in which the fleet went and came between Ophir and Ezion-gaber. For it is plain, so as to supersede the necessity of proof or argument, that, had this voyage been made with variable winds, no limited term of years ever could have been observed in its going and returning. The fleet might have returned from Ophir in two years, in three, four, or five years; but with variable winds, the return precisely in three years was not possible, whatever part of the globe Ophir might be situated in.

The island of Ceylon, in the East Indies, could not be Ophir; the voyage thither is indeed made by monsoons, but we have shewed that a year is all that can be spent in a voyage to the East Indies; besides, Ceylon has neither gold nor silver, though it has ivory. When the Tyrians discovered Spain, they found a profusion of silver in huge masses; but this they brought to Tyre by the Mediterranean, and then sent it to the Red Sea over land to answer the returns from India.

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* 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22.

† 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 21.

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Tarshish, too, is not found to be a port in any of these voyages, so that part of the description fails, nor were there ever elephants bred in Spain.

The mines of Ophir were probably what furnished the East with gold in the earliest times; great traces of excavation must therefore have appeared; yet in none of the places just mentioned are there great remains of any mines that have been wrought. The ancient traces of silver mines in Spain are not to be found, and there never were any of gold. John Dos Santos*, a Dominican friar, says, that on the coast of Africa, in the kingdom of Sofala, the mainland opposite to Madagascar, there are mines of gold and silver, than which none can be more abundant, especially in silver. They bear the traces of having been wrought from the earliest ages. They were actually open and working when the Portuguese conquered that part of the peninsula; and were probably given up since the discovery of the New World, rather from political than any other reasons.

This friar says, that he landed at Sofala in the year 1586; that he sailed up the great river Cuama as far as Tetè, where, always desirous to be in the neighbourhood of gold, his order had placed their convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into the country, and saw the gold mines then working, at a mountain called Afura †. At a considerable distance from these are the silver mines of Chicoua; at both places there is great appearance of ancient excavations: and at both places the houses of the kings are built with mud and straw, whilst there

* Vid. Voyage of Dos Santos, published by Le Grande.
† See the map of this voyage.

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are large remains of massy buildings of stone and lime.

It is a tradition which generally obtains in that country, that these works belonged to the queen of Saba, and were built at the time, and for the purpose, of the trade on the Red Sea: this tradition is common to all the Cafrs in that country. Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Eusebius*, speaking of David, says, that he built ships at Eloth, a city in Arabia, and thence sent miners, or, as he calls them, metal-men, to Orphi, or Ophir, an island in the Red Sea. Now by the Red Sea, he understands the Indian Ocean†; and by Orphi, he probably meant the island of Madagascar; or Orphi (or Orphir) might have been the name of the Continent, instead of Sofala; that is, Sofala, where the mines are, might have been the mainland of Orphi.

The kings of the isles are often mentioned in this voyage; Socotra, Madagascar, the Comorras, and many other small islands thereabout, are probably those the Scripture calls the Isles. All, then, at last reduces itself to the finding a place, either Sofala, or any other place adjoining to it, which avowedly can furnish gold, silver, and ivory in quantity; has large tokens of ancient excavations; and is at the same time under such restrictions from monsoons, that three years are absolutely necessary to perform the voyage; that it needs no more, and cannot be done in less; and this is Ophir.

Let us now try these mines of Dos Santos by the laws of the monsoons, which we have already laid down in describing the voyage to India. The fleet,

* Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

† Dionysii Periegesis, ver. 38. and Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. cap. 11.

or ship for Sofala, parting in June from Ezion-gaber, would run down before the northern monsoon to Mocha. Here, not the monsoon, but the direction of the Gulf, changes; and the violence of the south-westers, which then reign in the Indian Ocean, makes themselves at times felt even in Mocha Roads. The vessel therefore comes to an anchor in the harbour of Mocha, and here she waits for moderate weather and a fair wind, which carries her out of the Straits of Babelmandeb, through the few leagues where the wind is variable. If her course was now to the East Indies, that is east-north-east, or north-east and by north, she would find a strong south-west wind that would carry her to any part of India, as soon as she cleared Cape Gardefan, to which she was bound.

But matters are widely different if she is bound for Sofala; her course is nearly south-west, and she meets at Cape Gardefan a strong south-wester that blows directly in her teeth. Being obliged to return into the Gulf, she mistakes this for a trade wind, because she is not able to make her voyage to Mocha but by the summer monsoon, which carries her no farther than the Straits of Babelmandeb, and then leaves her in the face of a contrary wind, a strong current to the northward, and violent swell.

The attempting this voyage with sails, in these circumstances, was absolutely impossible, as their vessels went only before the wind: if it was performed at all, it must have been by oars*; and great havock and loss of men must have been the consequence of the several trials. This is not conjecture only; the prophet Ezekiel describes the very fact. Speaking of the Tyrian voyages, probably of this very one, he says,

* Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 6.

"Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters (the ocean): the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas*." In short, the east, that is the north-east wind, was the very monsoon that was to carry them to Sofala; yet having no sails, being upon a lee-shore, a very bold coast, a great swell, and contrary current, it was absolutely impossible with oars to save themselves from destruction.

At last, philosophy and observation, together with the unwearied perseverance of man bent upon his own views and interest, removed these difficulties, and shewed the mariners of the Arabian Gulf, that these periodical winds, which, in the beginning, they looked upon as invincible barriers to the trading to Sofala, when once understood, were the very means of performing this voyage safely and expeditiously.

The vessel trading to Sofala, sailed, as I have said, from the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, in summer, with the monsoon at north, which carried her to Mocha. There the monsoon failed her, by the change of the direction of the Gulf. The south-west winds, which blow without Cape Gardefan in the Indian Ocean, force themselves round the Cape so as to be felt in the road of Mocha, and make it uneasy riding there. But these soon changed, the weather became moderate, and the vessel, I suppose in the month of August, was safe at anchor under Cape Gardefan, where was the port which, many years afterwards, was called Promontorium Aromatum. Here the ship was obliged to stay all November, because, all these summer months the wind south of the Cape was a strong south-wester, as hath been before said, directly in the teeth of the voyage to Sofala. But this time

* Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 26.

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was not lost; part of the goods bought to be ready for the return was ivory, frankincense, and myrrh; and the ship was then at the principal mart for these.

I suppose in November the vessel sailed with the wind at north-east, with which she would soon have made her voyage. But off the coast of Melinda, in the beginning of December, she there met an anomalous monsoon at south-west, in our days first observed by Dr Halley, which cut off her voyage to Sofala, and obliged her to put in to the small harbour of Mocha, near Melinda, but nearer still to Tarshish, which we find here by accident, and which we think a strong corroboration that we are right as to the rest of the voyage. In the Annals of Abyssinia, we see that Amda Sion, making war upon that coast in the 14th century, in a list of the rebellious Moorish vassals, mentions the Chief of Tarshish as one of them, in the very situation where we have now placed him.

Solomon's vessel, then, was obliged to stay at Tarshish till the month of April of the second year. In May, the wind set in at north-east, and probably carried her that same month to Sofala. All the time she spent at Tarshish was not lost; for part of her cargo was to be brought from that place, and she probably bought, bespoke, or left it there. From May of the second year, to the end of that monsoon in October, the vessel could not stir; the wind was north-east: But this time, far from being lost, was necessary to the traders for getting in their cargo, which we shall suppose was ready for them.

The ship sails, on her return, in the month of November of the second year, with the monsoon south-west, which in a very few weeks would have carried her into the Arabian Gulf. But off Mocha, near Me-

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linda and Tarshish, she met the north-east monsoon, and was obliged to go into that port, and stay there till the end of that monsoon; after which a south-wester came to her relief in May of the third year. With the May monsoon she ran to Mocha within the Straits, and was there confined by the summer monsoon blowing up the Arabian Gulf from Suez, and meeting her. Here she lay till that monsoon, which in summer blows northerly from Suez, changed to a south-east one in October or November; and that very easily brought her up into the Elanitic Gulf, the middle or end of December of the third year. She had no need of more time to complete her voyage, and it was not possible she could do it in less. In short, she changed the monsoon six times, which is thirty-six months, or three years exactly; and there is not another combination of monsoons over the globe, as far as I know, capable to effect the same. The reader will please to consult the map, and keep it before him, which will remove any difficulties he may have. It is for his instruction this map has been made, not for that of the learned prelate*, to whom it is inscribed, much more capable of giving additional lights, than in need of receiving any information I can give, even on this subject.

The celebrated Montesquieu conjectures, that Ophir was really on the coast of Africa; and the conjecture of that great man merits more attention than the assertions of ordinary people. He is too sagacious, and too enlightened, either to doubt of the reality of the voyage itself, or to seek for Ophir and Tarshish in China. Uninformed, however, of the particular direction of the monsoons upon the coast, first very

* Dr Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle.

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slightly spoken of by Eudoxus, and lately observed and delineated by Dr Halley, he was staggered upon considering that the whole distance which employed a vessel in Solomon's time for three years, was a thousand leagues, scarcely more than the work of a month. He, therefore, supposes, that the reason of delay was owing to the imperfection of the vessels, and goes into very ingenious calculations, reasonings, and conclusions upon this. He conjectures, therefore, that the ships employed by Solomon were what he calls junks* of the Red Sea, made of papyrus, and covered with hides or leather.

Pliny† had said, that one of these junks of the Red Sea was twenty days on a voyage, which a Greek or Roman vessel would have performed in seven; and Strabo‡ had said the same thing before him.

This relative slowness, or swiftness, will not solve the difficulty. For, if these junks § were the vessels employed to Ophir, the long voyage, much more would they have been employed on the short one, to and from India; now they performed this within a year, which was all a Roman or Greek vessel could do; therefore this was not the cause. Those employed by Solomon were Tyrian and Idumean vessels, the best ships and sailors of their age. Whoever has seen the prodigious swell, the violent currents, and strong southwesters beyond the Straits of Babelmandeb, will not need any argument to persuade him, that no vessel made of papyrus, or leather, could live an hour upon that sea. The junks, indeed, were light and conve-

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* Vide L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xxi. cap. 6. p. 476.

† Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv.

§ I know there are contrary opinions, and the junks might have been various. Vide Salm.

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nient boats, made to cross the narrow gulf between the Sabeans and Homerites, or Cushites, at Azab, upon the Red Sea, and carry provisions from Arabia Felix to the more desert coast of Azab. I have hinted, that the names of places sufficiently demonstrate the great loss of men that happened to the traders to Sofala before the knowledge of the monsoons, and the introduction of the use of sails.

I shall now consider how far the thing is confirmed by the names of places in the language of the country, such as they have retained among them to the present day.

There are three Mochas mentioned in this voyage, situated in countries very dissimilar to, and distant from, one another. The first is in Arabia Deserta, in lat. 30° nearly, not far from the bottom of the Gulf of Suez. The second is in lat. 13°, at a small distance from the Straits of Babelmandeb. The third Mocha is in lat. 3° south, near Tarshish, on the coast of Melinda. Now, the meaning of Mocha, in the Ethiopic, is prison; and is particularly given to these three places, because, in any of them, a ship is forced to stay or be detained for months, till the changing of the monsoon sets her at liberty to pursue her voyage. At Mocha, near the bottom of the Gulf of Suez, a vessel, wanting to proceed southward to Babelmandeb, is kept here in prison all winter, till the summer monsoon sets her at liberty. At Mocha, in Arabia Felix, the same happens to any vessel wanting to proceed to Suez in the summer months; she may come up from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Mocha Road by the accidental direction of the head of the Gulf; but, in the month of May, the north-west wind obliges her to put into Mocha, and there to stay till the south-easter relieves her in November. After you double Gardefan, the summer monsoon, at north-east, carries your vessel full

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sail to Sofala, when the anomalous monsoon takes her off the coast of Melinda, and forces her into Tarshish, where she is imprisoned for six months in the Mocha there. So that this word is very emphatically applied to those places where ships are necessarily detained by the change of monsoons, and proves the truth of what I have said.

The last Cape on the Abyssinian shore, before you run into the Straits, is Cape Defan, called by the Portuguese, Cape Dafui. This word has no meaning in any language; the Abyssinians, on whose side it is, call it Cape Defan, the Cape of Burial. It was probably there where the east wind drove ashore the bodies of such as had been shipwrecked in the voyage. The point of the same coast, which stretches out into the Gulf, before you arrive at Babelmandeb, was, by the Romans, called Promontorium Aromatum, and, since, by the Portuguese, Cape Gardefui. But the name given it by the Abyssinians and sailors on the Gulf is Cape Gardefan, the Straits of Burial.

Still nearer the Straits is a small port in the kingdom of Adel, called Mete, i. e. Death, or, he or they are dead; and more to the westward, in the same kingdom, is Mount Felix, corruptly so called by the Portuguese. The Latins call it Elephas Mons, the Mountain of the Elephant; and the natives, Jibbel Feel, which has the same signification. The Portuguese, who did not know that Jibbel Feel was Elephas Mons, being misled by the sound, have called it Jibbel Felix, the Happy Mountain, a name to which it has no sort of title.

The Straits, by which we enter the Arabian Gulf, are by the Portuguese called Babelmandel*, which is

* In a few of the preceding sheets of this volume, the name is thus erroneously spelt.—E.

inaccurate. The name by which it goes among the natives is Babelmandeb, the Gate or Port of Affliction; and near it Ptolemy* places a town he calls in the Greek, Mandaeth, which appears to me to be only a corruption of Mandeb. The Promontory that forms the south side of the Straits, and the city thereupon, is Diræ, which, in Latin, means the Hades, or Hell, by Ptolemy† called‡ [illegible]. A cluster of islands you meet in the canal, after passing Mocha, is called Jibbel Zekir, or the Islands of Prayer for the remembrance of the dead. And still, in the same course up the Gulf, others are called Sebaat Gzier, Praise or Glory be to God, as we may suppose, for the return from this dangerous navigation.

All the coast to the eastward, to where Gardefan stretches out into the ocean, is the territory of Saba, from time immemorial the mart of frankincense, myrrh, and balsam. Behind Saba, on the Indian Ocean, is the Regio Cinnamonifera, where a considerable quantity of that wild cinnamon grows, which the Italian druggists call *canella*.

Inland near to Azab, as I have before observed, are large ruins, some of them of small stones and lime adhering strongly together. There is especially an aqueduct, which brought formerly a large quantity of water from a fountain in the mountains, which must have greatly contributed to the beauty, health, and pleasure of Saba. This is built with large massy blocks of marble, brought from the neighbouring mountains, placed upon one another without lime or cement, but joined with thick cramps, or bars of brass. There are likewise a number of wells, not six

* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. cap 7. † Id. Ibid.

‡ This word either means a neck in the language of Ptolemy, or is more probably the Arabic Dar, a place or habitation.—E.

feet wide, composed of pieces of marble hewn to parts of a circle, and joined with the same bars of brass also. This is exceedingly surprising; for Agatharcides* tells us, that the Alileans and Cassandrins, in the southern parts of Arabia (just opposite to Azab), had among them gold in such plenty, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver; that, in digging the earth, they found pieces of gold as big as olive-stones, but others much larger†.

This seems to me extraordinary, if brass was at such a price in Arabia, that it could be here employed in the meanest and most common uses. But, upon analysing this, I found it copper without mixture, or virgin copper; of which great abundance was at first found in the island of Cyprus, and on this account was probably of less value. However this be, the inhabitants of the Continent, and of the peninsula of Arabia opposite to it, of all denominations, agree, that this was the royal seat of the Queen of Saba, famous in ecclesiastical history for her journey to Jerusalem; that these works belonged to her, and were erected at the place of her residence; that all the gold, silver, and perfumes, came from her kingdom of Sofala, which was Ophir, and which reached from thence to Azab, upon the borders of the Red Sea, along the coast of the Indian Ocean.

It will very possibly be thought, that this is the place in which I should mention the journey that the Queen of Saba made into Palestine; but as the dignity of the expedition itself, and the place it holds in Jewish antiquities, merits that it should be treated in a place by itself, so the connection that it is supposed to have with the foundation of the monarchy of Abys-

* Agath. p. 60.

† Probably the real land of Ophir.—E.

sinia, the country whose history I am going to write, makes this particularly proper for the sake of connection; and I shall, therefore, continue the history of the trade of the Arabian Gulf to a period in which I can resume the narrative of this expedition without occasioning any interruption to either.

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CHAP. V.

Fluctuating State of the India Trade—Hurt by the Military Expeditions of the Persians—Revives under the Ptolemies—Falls to decay under the Romans.

THE prosperous days of the commerce with the Elanitic Gulf seemed to be at this time nearly past; yet, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Edom remaining to the house of David, they still carried on a sort of trade from the Elanitic Gulf, though attended with many difficulties. This continued till the reign of Jehosaphat*; but, on Jehoram's succeeding that prince, the Edomites† revolted, and chose a king of their own, and were never after subject to the kings of Judah, till the reign of Uzziah‡, who conquered Eloth, fortified it, and having peopled it with a colony of his own, revived the old traffic. This subsisted till the reign of Ahaz, when Rezin, king of Damascus, took Eloth||, and expelled the Jews, planting in their

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* 1 Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 48. 2 Chron. chap. xx. ver. 36.
† 2 Kings, chap. viii. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. xxi ver. 10.
‡ 2 Kings, chap. xiv ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. xxvi. ver. 2.
|| 2 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 6.

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stead a colony of Syrians. But he did not long enjoy this good fortune; for the year after, Rezin * was conquered by Tilgath-pileser; and one of the fruits of this victory was the taking of Eloth, which never after returned to the Jews, or was of any profit to Jerusalem.

The repeated wars and conquest to which the cities on the Elanitic Gulf had been subject, the extirpation of the Edomites, all the great changes that immediately followed one another, of course disturbed the usual channel of trade by the Red Sea, whose ports were now consequently become unsafe, by being in possession of strangers, robbers, and soldiers; it changed, therefore, to a place nearer the centre of police and good government, than fortified and frontier towns could be supposed to be. The Indian and African merchants, by convention, met in Assyria, as they had done in the time of Semiramis; the one by the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, the other through Arabia. Assyria, therefore, became the mart of the India trade in the East.

The conquests of Nebopollaser, and his son Nebuchadnezzar, had brought a prodigious quantity of bullion, both silver and gold, to Babylon, his capital. For he had plundered Tyre †, and robbed Solomon's Temple‡ of all the gold that had been brought from Ophir; and he had, besides, conquered Egypt and laid it waste, and cut off the communication of trade in all these places, by almost extirpating the people. Immense riches flowed to him, therefore, on all sides; and it was a circumstance particularly favourable to

* 2 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 6.
† Ezek. chap. xxvi. ver. 7.
‡ 2 Kings, chap. xxiv. ver. 16. and 2 Chron. chap. xxxvi. ver. 7.

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merchants in that country, that it was governed by written laws, that screened their properties from any remarkable violence or injustice.

I suppose the phrase in Scripture, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not *," must mean only written laws, by which those countries were governed, without being left to the discretion of the judge, as all the East was, and as it actually now is.

In this situation the country was at the birth of Cyrus, who having taken Babylon †, and slain Belshazzer ‡, became master of the whole trade and riches of the East. Whatever character writers give of this great prince, his conduct, with regard to the commerce of the country, shews him to have been a weak one: For, not content with the prodigious prosperity to which his dominions had arrived, by the misfortune of other nations, and perhaps by the good faith kept by his subjects to merchants, enforced by those written laws, he undertook the most absurd and disastrous project of molesting the traders themselves, and invading India, that all at once he might render himself master of their riches. He executed this scheme just as absurdly as he formed it; for, knowing that large caravans of merchants came into Persia and Assyria from India, through the Ariana (the desert coast that runs all along the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, almost entirely destitute of water, and very nearly as much so of provisions, both which caravans always carry with them), he attempted to enter India, with a large army, by the very same route his

* Dan. chap. vi. ver. 8. and Esther, chap. i. ver. 19.
† Ezra, chap. v. ver 14. and chap. vi. ver. 5.
‡ Dan. chap. v. ver. 30.

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predecessor, Semiramis, had projected 1300 years before; and as her army had perished, so did his to a man, without having ever had it in his power to take one pepper corn by force from any part of that country.

The same fortune attended his son and successor Cambyses, who, observing the quantity of gold brought from Ethiopia into Egypt, resolved to march to the source, and at once make himself master of those treasures by rapine, which he thought came too slowly through the medium of commerce.

Cambyses's expedition into Africa is too well known to dwell upon it in this place. It has obtained a celebrity by the absurdity of the project, by the enormous cruelty and havock that attended the course of it, and by the great and very just punishment that closed it in the end. It was one of those many monstrous extravagancies, which made up the life of the greatest madman that ever disgraced the annals of antiquity. The basest mind is perhaps the most capable of avarice; and when this passion has taken possession of the human heart, it is strong enough to excite us to undertakings as great as any of those dictated by the noblest of our virtues.

Cambyses, amidst the commission of the most horrid excesses during the conquest of Egypt, was informed that, from the south of that country, there was constantly brought a quantity of pure gold, independent of what came from the top of the Arabic Gulf, which was now carried into Assyria, and circulated in the trade of his country. This supply of gold belonged properly and exclusively to Egypt; and a very lucrative, though not very extensive commerce, was, by its means, carried on with India. He found out, that the people, possessing these treasures, were called Macrobii, which signifies long livers;

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and that they possessed a country divided from him by lakes, mountains, and deserts. But what still affected him most was, that in his way were a multitudé of warlike Shepherds, with whom the reader is already sufficiently acquainted.

Cambyses, to flatter, and make peace with them, fell furiously upon all the gods and temples in Egypt; he murdered the sacred ox the Apis, destroyed Memphis, and all the public buildings wherever he went. This was a gratification to the Shepherds, being equally enemies to those that worshipped beasts, or lived in cities. After this introduction, he concluded peace with them in the most solemn manner, each nation vowing eternal amity with the other. Notwithstanding which, no sooner was he arrived at Thebes (in Egypt) than he detached a large army to plunder the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, the greatest object of the worship of these Shepherds; which army utterly perished without a man remaining, covered, as I suppose, by the moving sands. He then began his march against the Macrobii, keeping close to the Nile. The country there, being too high to receive any benefit from the inundation of the river, produced no corn, so that part of his army died for want of provisions.

Another detachment of his army proceeded to the country of the Shepherds, who indeed furnished him with food; but, exasperated at the sacrilege he had committed against their god, they conducted his troops through places where they could procure no water. After suffering all this loss, he was not yet arrived beyond 24°, the parallel of Syené. From hence he dispatched ambassadors, or spies, to discover the country before him, finding he could no longer rely upon the Shepherds. These found it full of black warlike people, of great size and prodigious strength of body; active, and continually exercised in hunting

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the lion, the elephant, and other monstrous beasts which live in these forests.

The inhabitants so abounded with gold, that the most common utensils and instruments were made of that metal, whilst, at the same time, they were utter strangers to bread of any kind whatever; and not only so, but their country was, by its nature, incapable of producing any sort of grain from which bread could be made. They subsisted upon raw flesh alone, dried in the sun, especially that of the rhinoceros, the elephant, and giraffa, which they had slain in hunting. On such food they have ever since lived, and live to this day, and on such food I myself have lived with them; yet still it appears strange, that people confined to this diet, without variety or change, should have it for their characteristic that they were long livers.

They were not at all alarmed at the arrival of Cambyses's ambassadors. On the contrary, they treated them as an inferior species of men. Upon asking them about their diet, and hearing it was upon bread, they called it dung, I suppose as having the appearance of that bread which I have seen the miserable Agows, their neighbours, make from seeds of bastard rye, which they collect in their fields under the burning rays of the sun. They laughed at Cambyses's requisition of submitting to him, and did not conceal their contempt of his idea of bringing an army thither.

They treated ironically his hopes of conquest, even supposing all difficulties of the desert overcome, and his army ready to enter their country; and counselled him to return while he was well, at least for a time, till he should produce a man of his army that could bend the bow that they then sent him; in which case, he might continue to advance, and have hope of conquest. The reason of their reference to the bow will

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be seen afterwards. I mention these circumstances of the quantity of gold, the hunting of elephants, their living upon the raw flesh, and, above all, the circumstance of the bow, as things which I myself can testify to have met with among this very people. It is, indeed, highly satisfactory in travelling, to be able to explain truths, which, from a want of knowledge of the country alone, have been treated as falsehoods, and placed to the discredit of historians.

The Persians were all celebrated archers. The mortification, therefore, they experienced, by receiving the bow they could not bend, was a very sensible one, though the narrative of the quantity of gold the messengers had seen made a much greater impression upon Cambyses. To procure this treasure was, however, impracticable, as he had no provision, nor was there any in the way of his march. His army, therefore, wasted daily by death and dispersion; and he had the mortification to be obliged to retreat into Egypt, after part of his troops had been reduced to the necessity of eating each other *.

Darius, king of Persia, attempted to open this trade in a much more worthy and liberal manner, as he sent ships down the river Indus into the ocean, whence they entered the Red Sea. It is probable, in this voyage, he acquired all the knowledge necessary for establishing this trade in Persia; for he must have passed through the Persian Gulf, and along the whole eastern coast of Arabia; he must have seen the marts of perfumes and spices that were at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the manner of bartering for gold and silver, as he was necessarily in those trading places which were upon the very same coast from which the

* Lucan, lib. x. ver. 280.

bullion was brought. I do not know, then, why M. de Montesquieu* has treated this expedition of Darius so contemptuously, as it appears to have been executed without great trouble or expence, and terminated without loss or hardship; the strongest proof that it was at first wisely planned. The prince himself was famous for his love of learning, which we find by his anxiety to be admitted among the Magi, and the sense he had of that honour, in causing it to be engraved upon his tomb.

The expedition of Alexander into India was, of all events, that which most threatened the destruction of the commerce of the Continent, or the dispersing it into different channels throughout the East: First, by the destruction of Tyre, which must have, for a time, annihilated the trade by the Arabian Gulf; then, by his march through Egypt into the country of the Shepherds, and his intended further progress into Ethiopia to the head of the Nile. If we may judge of what we hear of him in that part of his expedition, we should be apt not to believe, as others are fond of doing, that he had schemes of commerce mingled with those of conquest. His anxiety about his own birth at the Temple of Jupiter Ammon; the first question that he asked of the priest, "Where the Nile had its source," seemed to denote a mind busied about other objects; for else he was then in the very place for information, being in the temple of that horned god†, the deity of the Shepherds, the African carriers of the Indian produce; a temple which, though in the midst of sand, and destitute of gold or silver, possessed more and better information concerning the trade of India

* Vide Montesq. liv. 21. chap. 8.
† Lucan, lib. 9. ver. 515.

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and Africa, than could be found in any other place on the Continent. Yet we do not hear of one question being made, nor one arrangement taken, relative to opening the India trade with Thebes, or with Alexandria, which he built afterwards.

After having viewed the main ocean to the south, he ordered Nearchus with his fleet to coast along the Persian Gulf, accompanied by part of the army on land for their mutual assistance; as there were a great many hardships which followed the march of the army by land, and much difficulty and danger attended the shipping, as they were sailing in unknown seas against the monsoons. Nearchus himself informed the king at Babylon of his successful voyage, who gave him orders to continue it into the Red Sea, which he happily accomplished to the bottom of the Arabian Gulf.

We are told it was his intention to carry on the India trade by the Gulf of Persia; for which reason he broke down all the cataracts and dams which the Persians had built over the rivers communicating with the Euphrates. No use, however, seems to have been made of his knowledge of Arabia and Ethiopia, which makes me imagine this expedition of Alexander's fleet was not an idea of his own. It is, indeed, said, that, when Alexander came into India, the southern, or Indian Ocean, was perfectly unknown; but I am rather inclined to believe, from this circumstance, that this voyage was made from some memorials remaining concerning the voyage of Darius. The fact and circumstances of Darius's voyage are come down to us; and, by these very same means, it must be probable, they reached Alexander, who I do not believe ever intended to carry on the India trade at Babylon.

To render it impossible, indeed, he could not have done three things more effectual than he did, when he

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destroyed Tyre, and dispersed its inhabitants, persecuted the Orites, or land-carriers, in the Ariana, and built Alexandria upon the Mediterranean; which last step fixed the India trade in that city, and would have kept it there eternally, had the Cape of Good Hope never been discovered.

The Ptolemies, the wisest princes that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, applied with the utmost care and attention to cultivate the trade of India; to keep up perfect and friendly understanding with every country that supplied any branch of it; and, instead of disturbing it either in Asia, Arabia, or Ethiopia, as their predecessors had done, they used their utmost efforts to encourage it in all quarters.

Ptolemy I. was then reigning in Alexandria, the foundation of whose greatness he not only laid, but lived to see it arrive at the greatest perfection. It was his constant saying, that the true glory of a king was not in being rich himself, but making his subjects so. He, therefore, opened his ports to all trading nations, encouraged strangers of every language, protected caravans, and a free navigation by sea, by which, in a few years, he made Alexandria the great storehouse of merchandize, from India, Arabia, and Ethiopia. He did still further to insure the duration of his kingdom, at the same time that he shewed the utmost disinterestedness for the future happiness of his people. He educated his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, with the utmost care, and the happy genius of that prince answered his father's utmost expectations; for, when he arrived at the age of governing, the father, worn out by the fatigue of long wars, surrendered the kingdom to his son.

Ptolemy had been a soldier from his infancy, and consequently kept up a proper military force, that made him everywhere respected in these warlike and

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unsettled times. He had a fleet of two hundred ships of war constantly ready in the port of Alexandria, the only part for which he had apprehensions. All behind him was wisely governed, whilst it enjoyed a most flourishing trade, to the prosperity of which peace is necessary. He died in peace and old age, after having merited the glorious name of Soter, or Saviour of the kingdom, which he himself had founded, the greatest part of which differed from him in language, colour, habit, and religion.

It is with astonishment we see how thoroughly he had established the trade of India, Ethiopia, and Arabia, and what progress he had already made towards uniting it with that of Europe, by a passage in Athenæus*, who mentions a festival and entertainment given by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the people of Alexandria at his succession, while his father was alive, but had just given up his crown.

There was in this procession a great number of Indian women, besides those of other countries; and by Indians we may understand, not only the Asiatic Indians, but the Abyssinians, and the inhabitants of the higher part of Africa; as all these countries were comprehended under the common appellation of India. These were in the habit of slaves; and each led, or was followed by, a camel loaded with incense of Sheher, and cinnamon, besides other aromatics. After these came a number of Ethiopian blacks, carrying the teeth of 600 elephants. Another troop had a prodigious quantity of ebony; and again others, loaded with that finest gold, which is not dug from the mine, but washed from the mountains by the tropical rains in small pieces, or pellets, which the natives and traders, at

* Athen. lib. 5.

this day, call Tibbar. Next came a pack of 24,000 Indian dogs, all Asiatics, from the peninsula of India, followed by a prodigious number of foreign animals, both beasts and birds, paroquets, and other birds of Ethiopia, carried in cages; 130 Ethiopian sheep, 300 Arabian, and twenty from the Isle Nubia*; 26 Indian buffaloes, white as snow, and eight from Ethiopia; three brown bears, and a white one, which last must have been from the north of Europe; 14 leopards, 16 panthers, four lynxes, one giraffa, and a rhinoceros of Ethiopia.

When we reflect upon this prodigious mixture of animals, all so easily procured at one time, without preparation, we may imagine, that the quantity of merchandizes, for common demand, which accompanied them, must have been in the proper proportion.

The current of trade ran towards Alexandria with the greatest impetuosity; all the articles of luxury of the East were to be found there. Gold and silver, which were sent formerly to Tyre, came now down to the Isthmus (for Tyre was no more) by a much shorter carriage, thence to Memphis, whence it was sent down the Nile to Alexandria. The gold from the west and south parts of the Continent reached the same port with much less time and risk, as there was now no Red Sea to pass; and here was found the merchandize of Arabia and India in the greatest profusion.

To facilitate the communication with Arabia, Ptolemy built a town on the coast of the Red Sea, in the

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* This is probably from Atbara, the old name of the island of Meroë, which had received that last name only as late as Cambyses.

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country of the Shepherds, and called it Berenice*, after his mother. This was intended as a place of necessary refreshment for all the traders up and down the Gulf, whether of India or Ethiopia; hence the cargoes of merchants, who were afraid of losing the monsoons, or had lost them, were carried by the inhabitants of the country, in three days, to the Nile, and there embarked for Alexandria. To make the communication between the Nile and the Red Sea still more commodious, this prince made an attempt (which had twice before miscarried with very great loss) to bring a canal † from the Red Sea to the Nile, which he actually accomplished, joining it to the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile. Locks and sluices moreover are mentioned as having been employed even in those early days by Ptolemy; but very trifling ones would be needed, for the difference of level is there but very small.

This noble canal, one hundred yards broad, was not of that use to trade which was expected. Merchants were weary of the length of time consumed in going to the very bottom of the Gulf, and afterwards with this inland navigation of the canal, and that of the Nile, to Alexandria. It was therefore much more expeditious to unload at Berenice, and, after three days journey, send their merchandize directly down to Alexandria. Thus the canal was disused, the goods passed from Berenice to the Nile by land, and that road continues open for the same purpose to this day.

It should appear that Ptolemy had employed the vessels of India and the Red Sea to carry on his commerce with the peninsula; and that the manner of

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* Plin. lib. 6. cap. 23.

† Strabo, lib. 17. p. 932.

trading directly to India with his own ships, was either not known or forgotten. He therefore sent two ambassadors, or messengers, Megasthenes and Denis, to observe and report what was the state of India since the death of Alexander. These two performed their voyage safely and speedily. The account they gave of India, if it was strictly a true one, was, in all respects, perfectly calculated to animate people to the further prosecution of that trade. In the meantime, in order to procure more convenience for vessels trading on the Red Sea, he resolved to attempt the penetrating into that part of Ethiopia which lies on that sea; and, as historians imagine, with an intention to plunder the inhabitants of their riches.

It must not, however, be supposed, that Ptolemy was so unacquainted with the productions of a country so near to Egypt, as not to know this part of it had neither gold nor silver, whilst it was full of forests likewise; for it was that part of Ethiopia called Barbaria, at this day Barabra, inhabited by shepherds, wandering with their cattle about the neighbouring mountains, according as the rains fall. Another more probable conjecture was, that he wanted, by bringing about a change of manners in these people, to make them useful to him in a matter that was of the highest importance.

Ptolemy, like his father, had a very powerful fleet and army; but he was inferior to many of the princes, his rivals, in elephants, of which great use was then made in war. These Ethiopians were hunters, and killed them for their subsistence. Ptolemy, however, wished to have them taken alive, being numerous; and hoped both to furnish himself, and dispose of them as an article of trade, to his neighbours.

There is something indeed ridiculous in the manner in which he executed this expedition. Aware of the difficulty of subsisting in that country, he chose only a

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hundred Greek horsemen, whom he covered with coats of monstrous appearance and size, which left nothing visible but the eyes of the rider. Their horses too were disguised by huge trappings, which took from them all proportion and shape. In this manner they entered this part of Ethiopia, spreading terror every where by their appearance, to which their strength and courage bore a strict proportion, whenever they came to action. But neither force nor intreaty could gain any thing upon these Shepherds, or ever make them change or forsake the food they had been so long accustomed to; and all the fruit Ptolemy reaped from this expedition, was to build a city, by the sea-side, in the south-east corner of this country, which he called Ptolemais Therôn, or Ptolemais in the country of wild beasts.

I have already observed, but shall again repeat it, that the reason why ships, in going up and down the Red Sea, kept always upon the Ethiopian shore; and why the greatest number of cities were always built upon that side, is, that water is much more abundant on the Ethiopian side than the Arabian, and it was therefore of the greatest consequence to trade to have that coast fully discovered and civilized. Indeed it is more than probable, that nothing further was intended by the expedition of the hundred Greeks, just now mentioned, than to gain sufficient intelligence how this might be done most perfectly.

Ptolemy Evergetes, son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, availed himself of this discovery. Having provided himself amply with necessaries for his army, and ordered a fleet to coast along beside him, up the Red Sea, he penetrated quite through the country of the Shepherds into that of the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who are black and woolly headed, and inhabit the low country quite to the mountains of Abyssinia.

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Nay*, he even ascended those mountains, forced the inhabitants to submission, built a large temple at Axum, the capital of Sirè, and raised a great many obelisks, several of which are standing to this day. Afterwards, proceeding to the south-east, he descended into the cinnamon and myrrh country, behind Cape Gardefan (the Cape that terminates the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean); from this, he crossed over to Arabia, to the Homerites, being the same people with the Abyssinians, only on the Arabian shore. He then conquered several of the Arabian princes, who first resisted him, and had it in his power to have put an end to the trade of India there, had he not been as great a politician as he was a warrior. He used his victory, therefore, in no other manner, than to exhort and oblige these princes to protect trade, encourage strangers, and, by every means, provide for the surety of neutral intercourse, by making rigorous examples of robbers by sea and land.

The reigns of the latter Ptolemies were calculated to bring this commerce to a decline, had it not been for two great events, the fall of Carthage, destroyed by Scipio, and that of Corinth, by the consul Mummius. The importance of these events to Alexandria seems to have sustained the prosperity of Egypt, even against the ravages committed in the war between Ptolemy the VI. and VII. Alexandria was then besieged, and not only deprived of its riches, but reduced to the utmost want of necessaries; and the horrid behaviour of Ptolemy VII. (had it continued) would have soon rendered that city desolate. The consequences of such a conduct were so apparent, that they soon made a strong impression on the prince

* Mon. Aduli. apud. Cosm. Indopl.

himself; who, at once recalling his unjust edicts, by which he had banished all foreign merchants from Alexandria, he became on a sudden wholly addicted to commerce, the encourager of arts and sciences, and the protector of strangers.

The impolitic conduct in the beginning of his reign, had however affected trade even in India. For the story preserved by Posidonius, and very improperly criticised by Strabo, seems to import little less.—One day, the troops posted on the Arabian Gulf found a ship abandoned to the waves, on board of which was one Indian only, half dead with hunger and thirst, whom they brought to the king. This Indian declared that he sailed from his own country, and having lost his course, and spent all his provisions, he was carried to the place where he was found, without knowing where he was, and after having survived the rest of his companions. He concluded an imperfect narrative, by offering to be a guide to any person his majesty would send to India. His proposals were accordingly accepted, and Eudoxus was named by the king to accompany him. Strabo * indeed laughs at this story. However, we must say, he has not seized the most ridiculous part of it.

We are told that the king ordered the Indian to be taught Greek, and waited with patience till he had learned that language. Surely, before any person could thus instruct him, the master must have had some language in common with his scholar; or he had better have taught Eudoxus the Indian language, as it would have been as easy, and of much more use in the voyage he was to undertake. Besides, is it possible to believe, after the many years the Egyptians tra-

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 98.

ded backwards and forwards to India, that there was not a man in Alexandria who could interpret for him to the king, when such a number of Egyptians went every year to India to trade, and stayed there for months each time? Could Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his father's festival, find 600 Indian female slaves, all at once, in Alexandria; and, after the trade had lasted so much longer, were the people from India decreased, or would their language be less understood? The king's wisdom, moreover, did not shew itself greatly, when he was going to trust a ship with his subjects to so unskilful a pilot as this Indian, who, in the first voyage, had lost himself and all his companions.

India, however, and the Indian seas, were as well known in Egypt as they are now; and the magnificence and shew which attended Eudoxus's embassy seems to prove, that whatever truth there is in the Indian being found, Eudoxus's errand must have been to remove the bad effects that the king's extortions and robberies, committed upon all strangers in the beginning of his reign, had made upon the trading nations. Eudoxus returned, but after the death of Ptolemy. The necessity, however, of this voyage appeared still great enough to make Cleopatra, his widow, project a second to the same place, and greater preparations were made than for the former one.

But Eudoxus, trying experiments probably about the courses of the trade-winds, lost his passage, and was thrown upon the coast of Ethiopia; where, having landed, and made himself agreeable to the natives, he brought home to Egypt a particular description of that country and its produce, which furnished all the discovery necessary to instruct the Ptolemies in every thing that related to the ancient trade of Arabia. In the course of the voyage, Eu-

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doxus discovered the part of the prow of a vessel which had been broken off by a storm. The figure of a horse made it an object of inquiry; and some of the sailors on board, who had been employed in European voyages, immediately knew this wreck to be part of one of those vessels used to trade on the western ocean. Eudoxus * instantly perceived all the importance of the discovery, which amounted to nothing less, than that there was a passage round Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. Full of this thought, he returned to Egypt; and having shewn the prow of his vessel to European ship-masters, they all declared that this had been part of a vessel which had belonged to Cadiz, in Spain.

This discovery, great as it was, was to none of more importance than to Eudoxus: for, some time after, falling under the displeasure of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the VIIIth of that name, and being in danger of his life, he fled and embarked on the Red Sea, sailed round the peninsula of Africa, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and came safely to Cadiz.

The spirit of inquiry, and desire of travelling, spread itself instantly through Egypt, upon this voyage of Eudoxus; and different travellers pushed their discoveries into the heart of the country, where some of the nations are reported to have been so ignorant as not to know the use of fire: ignorance almost incredible, had we not an instance of it in our own times.

It was in the reign of Ptolemy IX. that Agatharcides † drew up his description of the Red Sea.

The reigns of the other Ptolemies ending in the

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* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 67.

† Dodwell's Dissert. vol. 1. Scrip. Græc. Min. ld. Ox. 1698, 8vo.

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XIIIth of that name, though full of great events, have nothing material to our present subject. Their constant expence and profusion must have occasioned a great consumption of trading articles, and very little else was wanting; or, if there had, it must have arrived at its height in the reign of the celebrated Cleopatra, whose magnificence, beauty, and great talents, made her a wonder, greater than any in her capital. In her time, all nations flocked, as well for curiosity as trade, to Alexandria; Arabs, Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, and Medes; and all were received and protected by this princess, who spoke to each of them in his own language *.

The discovery of Spain, and the possession of the mines of Attica, from which they drew their silver, and the revolution that happened in Egypt itself, seem to have superseded the communication with the coast of Africa; for, in Strabo's time, few of the ports of the Indian Ocean, even those nearest the Red Sea, were known. I should, indeed, suppose, that the trade to India by Egypt decreased from the very time of the conquest by Cæsar. The mines the Romans had at the source of the river Betis †, in Spain, did not produce them above L. 15,000 a-year: this was not a sufficient capital for carrying on the trade to India; and, therefore, the immense riches of the Romans seem to have been derived from the greatness of the prices, not from the extent of the trade. In fact ‡, we are told that 100 per cent. was a profit in common trade upon Indian commodities. Egypt now, and all its neighbourhood, began to wear a face

* Plut. Vita. Ant. p. 913. tom. 1. part. 2. Lubec. 1624, fol.
† Strabo, lib. 3.
‡ Plin. lib. vi. cap. 23.

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of war, to which it had been a stranger for so many ages. The north of Africa was in constant troubles, after the first ruin of Carthage; so that we may imagine the trade to India began again, on that side, to be carried on pretty much in the same manner it had been before the days of Alexander. But it had enlarged itself very much on the Persian side, and found an easy, short inlet, into the north of Europe, which then furnished them a market and consumption of spices.

I must confess, notwithstanding, if it be true what Strabo says he heard himself in Egypt, that the Romans employed one hundred and twenty vessels in the Indian trade *, it must, at that time, have lost very little of its vigour. We must, however, imagine, that great part of this was for the account, and with the funds, of foreign merchants. The Jews in Alexandria, until the reign of Ptolemy Phiscon, had carried on a very extensive part of the India trade. All Syria was mercantile; and lead, iron, and copper, supplied, in some manner, the deficiency of gold and silver, which never again were in such abundance till after the discovery of America.

But the ancient trade to India, by the Arabian Gulf and Africa, carried on by the medium of these two metals, remained at home undiminished with the Ethiopians, defended by large extensive deserts, and happy in the enjoyment of riches and security, till a fresh discovery again introduced to them both partners and masters in their trade.

One of the reasons that makes me imagine the Indian trade was not flourishing, or in great esteem, im-

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* Strabo, lib. 2. p. 81.

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mediately upon the Roman conquest of Egypt, is, that Augustus, very soon after, attempted to conquer Arabia. He sent Ælius Gallus, with an army from Egypt into Arabia, who found there a number of effeminate, timid people, scarcely to be driven to self-defence by violence, and ignorant of every thing that related to war. Ælius, however, found that they overmatched him in cunning, and perfect knowledge of the country, which their constant employment as carriers had taught them. His guides led him round from hardship to hardship, till his army almost perished with hunger and thirst, without seeing any of those riches his master had sent him to take possession of.

Thus was the Arabian expedition of Augustus conceived with the same views as those of Semiramis, Cyrus, and Cambyses, and deservedly as unfortunate in its issue.

That the African trade, moreover, was lost, appears from Strabo *, and his reasoning upon the voyage of Eudoxus, which he treats as a fable. But his reasoning proves just the contrary; and this voyage was one foundation for opening this trade again, and making this coast more perfectly known. This likewise appears clear from Ptolemy †, who, speaking of a promontory, or cape, opposite to Madagascar, on the coast of Africa, says, it was inhabited by anthropophagi, or man-eaters, and that all beyond 8° south was unknown, and that this cape extended to and joined the continent of India ‡.

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* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 99.
† Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 115.
‡ Ptol. lib. vii. cap. 3.

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CHAP. VI.

Queen of Saba visits Jerusalem—Abyssinian Tradition concerning her—Supposed Founder of that Monarchy—Abyssinia embraces the Jewish Religion—Jewish Hierarchy still retained by the Falasha—Some Conjectures concerning their copy of the Old Testament.

I NOW am to fulfil my promise to the reader, of giving him some account of the visit made by the queen of Sheba *, and the consequences of that visit; the foundation of an Ethiopian monarchy, and the continuation of the sceptre in the tribe of Judah, down to this day. If I am obliged to go back in point of time, it is, that I may preserve both the account of the trade of the Arabian Gulf, and of this Jewish kingdom, distinct, and unbroken.

We are not to wonder, if the prodigious hurry and flow of business, and the immensely valuable transactions they had with each other, had greatly familiarised the Tyrians and Jews, with their correspondents the Cushites and Shepherds on the coast of Africa.

* It should probably be written Saba, Azab, or Azaba, all signifying South.

This had gone so far, as very naturally to create a desire in the queen of Azab, the sovereign of that country, to go herself and see the application of the immense treasures that had been exported from her country for a series of years, and the prince who so magnificently employed them. There can be no doubt of this expedition; as Pagan, Arab, Moor, Abyssinian, and all the countries round, vouch for it nearly in the terms of Scripture.

Many have thought this queen was an Arab *. But, Saba was a separate state, and the Sabeans a distinct people from the Ethiopians and the Arabs, and have continued so till very lately. We know, from history, that it was a custom among these Sabeans, to have women for their sovereigns in preference to men, a custom which still subsists among their descendents.

——— Medis levibusque Sabæis,
Imperat hos sexus Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ †, pars magna jacet.

Her name, the Arabs say, was Belkis; the Abyssinians, Maqueda. Our Saviour calls her Queen of the South, without mentioning any other name, but gives his sanction to the truth of the voyage. "The "Queen of the South (or Saba, or Azab) shall rise "up in the judgment with this generation, and shall "condemn it; for she came from the uttermost parts "of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, "behold, a greater than Solomon is here ‡." No other particulars, however, are mentioned about her in Scripture; and it is not probable our Saviour would have said she came from the uttermost parts of the earth, if

* Such as Justin, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Cyril.

† By this is meant the country between the tropic and mountains of Abyssinia, the country of Shepherds, from Berber, Shepherd.

‡ Matth. chap. xii. ver. 42. Luke, xi. 31.

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she had been an Arab, and had near 50° of the Continent behind her. But when we consider that the boundaries of the known land to the southward were at that time Raptum, or Prassum, as we have just seen, these, being the uttermost parts of the known earth, were, with great propriety, so styled by our Saviour, and of these she was undoubtedly sovereign. The gold, the myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, were all the produce of her own country; and the many reasons Pineda * gives to shew she was an Arab, more than convince me that she was an Ethiopian, or Cushite Shepherd.

A strong objection to her being an Arab, is, that the Sabean Arabs, or Homerites, the people that lived opposite to Azab on the Arabian shore, had kings instead of queens, which latter the Shepherds had, and still have. Moreover, the kings of the Homerites were never seen abroad, and were stoned to death if they appeared in public; subjects of this character would not very readily have suffered their queen to go to Jerusalem, even supposing they had had a queen, which they had not †.

Whether she was a Jewess, or a Pagan, is uncertain: Sabaism was the religion of all the east. It was the constant attendant and stumbling-block of the Jews; but, considering the multitude of that people then trading from Jerusalem, and the long time it continued, it is not improbable she was a Jewess. "And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions ‡." Our Saviour,

* Pin. de reb. Solomon, lib. iv. cap. 14. Josephus thinks she was an Ethiopian; so do Origen, Augustin, and St Anselmo.

† This objection is not valid.—E.

‡ 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 1. and 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 1.

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moreover, speaks of her with praise, pointing her out as an example to the Jews *. And, in her thanksgiving before Solomon, she alludes to God's blessing on the seed of Israel for ever †; which is by no means the language of a Pagan, but of a person skilled in the ancient history of this nation.

She likewise appears to have been a person of learning, and of that sort of learning which was then almost peculiar to Palestine, not to Ethiopia. For we know that one of the reasons of her coming, was to examine whether Solomon was really the learned man he was said to be. She came to try him in allegories, or parables, in which Nathan had instructed him.

The annals of the Abyssinians, being very full upon this point, have taken a middle opinion, and by no means an improbable one. They say she was a Pagan when she left Azab; but, being full of admiration at the sight of Solomon's works, she was converted to Judaism in Jerusalem, and bore him a son, whom she called Menilek, and who was their first king. However strongly they assert this, and however dangerous it would be to doubt it in Abyssinia, I will not here aver it for truth, nor much less will I positively contradict it, as Scripture has said nothing about it. I suppose, whether true or not, in the circumstances she was in, whilst Solomon also, so far from being very nice in his choice, was particularly addicted to Idumeans ‡, and other strange women, he could not more naturally engage himself in any amour than in one with the queen of Saba, with whom he had so long entertained

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* Matt. chap. xii. ver. 32. and Luke, chap. xi. ver. 31.

† 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 9. and 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 8.

‡ 2 Chron. chap. xxv. ver. 18, 19.

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the most lucrative connections, and most perfect friendship, and who, on her part, by so long a journey, had surely made sufficient advances.

The Abyssinians, both Jews and Christians, believe the xlvth psalm to be a prophecy of this queen's voyage to Jerusalem; that she was attended by a daughter of Hiram's from Tyre to Jerusalem; and that the last part of it contains a declaration of her having a son by Solomon, who was to be king over a nation of Gentiles.

To Saba, or Azab, then, she returned with her son Menilek, whom, after keeping him some years, she sent back to his father to be instructed. Solomon did not neglect his charge; and he was anointed and crowned king of Ethiopia, in the temple of Jerusalem, and at his inauguration took the name of David.—After this he returned to Azab, and brought with him a colony of Jews; among whom were many doctors of the law of Moses, particularly one of each tribe, to make judges of in his kingdom, from whom the present Umbares (or supreme judges, three of whom always attend the king) are said and believed to be descended. With these came also Azarias, the son of Zadok the priest, and brought with him a Hebrew transcript of the law, which was delivered into his custody, as he bore the title of Nebrit, or High Priest; and this charge, though the book itself was burnt with the church of Axum in the Moorish war of Adel, is still continued, as it is said, in the lineage of Azarias, who are Nebrits, or keepers of the church of Axum, at this day. All Abyssinia was thereupon converted, and the government of the church and state modelled according to what was then in use at Jerusalem.

By the last act of the queen of Saba's reign, she settled the mode of succession in her country for the

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future. First, she enacted, that the crown should be hereditary in the family of Solomon for ever. Secondly, that, after her, no woman should be capable of wearing that crown or being queen, but that it should descend to the heir male, however distant, in exclusion of all heirs female, however near; and that these two articles should be considered as the fundamental laws of the kingdom, never to be altered or abolished. And, lastly, That the heirs-male of the royal house should always be sent prisoners to a high mountain, where they were to continue till their death, or till the succession should open to them.

What was the reason of this last regulation is not known, it being peculiar to Abyssinia; but the custom of having women for sovereigns, which was a very old one, prevailed among the neighbouring Shepherds in the last century, as we shall see in the course of this history, and, for what we know, prevails to this day; so that this innovation seems to have been introduced from Palestine. It continued in Nubia till Augustus's time, when Petreius, his lieutenant in Egypt, subdued her country, and took the queen, Candace, prisoner. It endured also after Tiberius; as we learn from St Philip's baptising the eunuch *, servant of Queen Candace, who must have been successor to the former; for she, when taken prisoner by Petreius, is represented as an infirm woman, having but one eye †. Candace, indeed, was the name of all the sovereigns, in the same manner Cæsar was

* Acts, chap. viii. ver. 27 and 38.

† This shews the falsehood of the remark Strabo makes, that it was a custom in Meroë, if their sovereign was any way mutilated, for the subjects to imitate the imperfection. In this case, Candace's subjects would have all lost an eye. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 777, 778.

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of the Roman emperors. As for the last severe part, the punishment of the princes, it was probably intended to prevent some disorders among them, that she had observed frequently to happen in the house of David * at Jerusalem, and which seem to be the almost inevitable consequence of polygamy.

The queen of Saba, having made these laws irrevocable by all her posterity, died, after a long reign of forty years, in 986 before Christ, placing her son Menilek upon the throne, whose posterity, the annals of Abyssinia would teach us to believe, have ever since reigned. So far we must indeed bear witness to them, that this is no new doctrine, but has been stedfastly and uniformly maintained from their earliest account of time; first, when Jews; then, in later days, after they had embraced Christianity. We may further add, that the testimony of all the neighbouring nations is with them upon this subject, whether friends or enemies. They only differ in the name of the queen, or in giving her two names.

This difference, at such a distance of time, should not break scores; especially as we shall see that the queens of Ethiopia, in the present day, have sometimes three or four names, and all the kings three, whence has arisen very great confusion in their history. And as for her being an Arab, the objection is still easier got over; for all the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, especially those of the coast opposite to Saba, were reputed Abyssinians, and their country part of Abyssinia, from the earliest ages, till after the Mahometan conquest. They were her subjects; first, Sabean Pagans like herself; then converted (as the tradition

* 2 Sam. chap. xvi. ver. 22. 1 Kings, chap. ii. ver. 13.

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says) to Judaism, during the time of the building of the Temple; and Jews from that that time to the year 622 after Christ, when they became Mahometans.

I shall therefore now give a list of their kings of the race of Solomon, descended from the queen of Saba, whose device is a lion passant, proper, upon a field gules, and their motto, "*Mo Anbasa am Nizilet Solomon am Negadé Juda*;" which signifies, "the lion of the race of Solomon and tribe of Judah hath overcome." The Portuguese missionaries, instead of a lion passant, which is really the king's bearing, have given him, in some of their publications, a lion rampant, purposely, as is supposed, to put a cross into the paw of this Jewish lion; but he is now returned to the lion passant that he was in the time of Solomon, without any symbol, either of religion or peace, in his paws.

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LIST
OF
THE KINGS OF ABYSSINIA,
FROM
MAQUEDA, QUEEN OF SABA, TO THE NATIVITY.

	Years.		Years.
Menilek, or David I. reigned	4	Katzina reigned - -	9
Hendedya, or Zagdur, -	1	Wazeha - - -	1
Awida - - -	11	Hazer - - - -	2
Ausyi - - -	3	Kalas - - -	6
Sawè - - -	31	Solaya - - -	16
Gesaya - - -	15	Falaya - - -	26
Katar - - -	15	Aglebu - - -	3
Mouta - - -	20	Asisena - - -	1
Bahas - - -	9	Brus - - -	29
Kawida - - -	2	Mohesa - - -	1
Kanàza - - -	10	Bazen - - -	16

Menilek succeeded to the throne in the 986th year before Christ; and this number of years must be exhausted in the reign of these twenty-two kings; when each reign, in that case, will amount to more than forty-four years, which is impossible. The reign of the twenty-one kings of Israel, at a medium, is a little more than twenty-two years at an average, and that is thought abundantly high. And, even upon that footing of comparison, there will be wanting a great deal more than half the number of years between Menilek and Bazen, so that this account is apparently false. But I have another very material objection to it, as well as the preceding one, which is, that there is not one name, in the whole list, that has an Ethiopic root or derivation.

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The reader may give what credit he pleases to this very ancient list. For my part, I content myself with disproving nothing but what is impossible, or contrary to the authority of Scripture, or my own private knowledge. There are other lists still, which I have seen, all of no better authority than this. I shall only observe upon this last, that there is a king in it, about nine years before our Saviour's nativity, that did me the honour of using my name two thousand years before it came into Britain, spelled in the same manner that name anciently was, before folly, and the love of novelty, wantonly corrupted it.

The Greeks, to divert the king, had told him this circumstance, with which he was exceedingly entertained. Sometimes, when he had seen either Michael, or Fasil *, or any of the great ones do me a favour, or speak handsomely of me, he would say gravely, that he was to summon the council to inquire into my pedigree, whether I was descended of the heirs-male of that Brus, who was king nine years before the nativity; that I was likely to be a dangerous person, and it was time I should be sent to Wechné, unless I chose to lose my leg or arm, if I was found, by the judges, related to him by the heirs-male. To which I answered, that, however he made a jest of this, one of my predecessors was certainly a king, though not of Abyssinia, not nine years before, but 1200 after our redemption; that the arms of my family were a lion, like his; but, however creditable his majesty's apprehensions as to Abyssinia might be to me, I could venture to assure him, the only connections I had the honour ever to have had *with him*, were by the *heirs-female.*

* What immediately follows will be hereafter explained.

At other times, when I was exceedingly low-spirited, and despairing of ever again seeing Britain, he, who well knew the cause, used to say to the Serach * Massery, "Prepare the sendick and nagareet; let the judges be called, and the household troops appear under arms, for Brus is to be buried: he is an Ozoro of the line of Solomon, and, for any thing I know, may be heir to the crown. Bring likewise plenty of brandy, for they all get drunk at burials in his country." These were the days of sunshine, when such jests passed; there were cloudy ones enough that followed, which more than compensated the very transitory enjoyment of these.

Although the years laid down in the book of Axum do not precisely agree with our account, yet they are so near, that we cannot doubt that the revolt of the ten tribes, and destruction of Rehoboam's fleet, which followed, occasioned the removal of Menilek's capital to Tigre †. But, whatever was the cause, Menilek did remove his court from Azab to a place near Axum, at this day called Adega Daid, the House of David; and, at no great distance, is another, called Azabo, from his ancient metropolis, where there are old remains of buildings of stone and lime; a certain proof that Axum was then fallen, else he would have naturally gone thither immediately upon forsaking his mother's capital of Azab.

That country, round by Cape Gardefan, and south towards Sofala, along the Indian Ocean, was long governed by an officer called Baharnagash, the mean-

* The chamberlain. Vide Introduction to Book III.

† The temple which the queen of Saba had seen built, and so richly ornamented, was plundered the 5th year of Rehoboam, by Sesac, which is thirteen years before Menilek died. So this could not have disgusted him with the trade of his ancient habitation at Saba.

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ing of which is, King of the Sea, or Sea Coast. Another officer of the same title was governor of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which, from the earliest times, belonged to Abyssinia, down to the Mahometan conquest. The King himself was called Nagash, or Najashi; so were the governors of several provinces, especially Gojam; and great confusion has arisen from the multitude of these kings. We find, for example, sometimes three upon the throne at one time, which is exceedingly improbable in any country. We are, therefore, to suppose, that one of these only is king, and two of them are the Najashi, or Nagash, we have just described; for, as the regulation of the queen of Saba banished the heirs-male to a mountain, we cannot conceive how three brothers could be upon the throne at the same time, as this law subsists to the present day in all its rigour. This, although one, is not the only reason of the confusion, as I shall mention another in the sequel.

As we are about to take leave of the Jewish religion and government, in the line of Solomon, it is here the proper place where I should add what we have to say of the Falasha, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, when we gave a specimen of their language, among those of the stranger nations, who are reported to have come originally from Palestine. I did not spare my utmost pains in inquiring into the history of this curious people, and lived in friendship with several, esteemed the most knowing and learned among them, if any of them deserved to be so called; and I am persuaded, as far as they knew, they told me the truth.

The account they give of themselves, which is supported only by tradition, is, that they came with Menilek from Jerusalem, so that they perfectly agree with the Abyssinians in the story of the queen of Saba,

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who, they say, was a Jewess, and her nation Jews, before the time of Solomon; that she lived at Saba, or Azaba, the myrrh and frankincense country upon the Arabian Gulf. They say further, that she went to Jerusalem, under protection of Hiram, king of Tyre, whose daughter is said, in the xlvth psalm, to have attended her thither; that she went not in ships, nor through Arabia, for fear of the Ishmaelites, but from Azab round by Masuah and Suakem, and was escorted by the Shepherds, her own subjects, to Jerusalem, and back again, making use of her own country vehicle, the camel; and that hers was a white one, of prodigious size, and exquisite beauty.

They agree also, in every particular, with the Abyssinians, about the remaining part of the story, the birth and inauguration of Menilek, who was their first king; also the coming of Azarias, and twelve elders from the twelve tribes, and other doctors of the law, whose posterity they deny to have ever apostatised to Christianity, as the Abyssinians pretend they did at the conversion. They say, that, when the trade of the Red Sea fell into the hands of strangers, and all communication was shut up between them and Jerusalem, the cities were abandoned, and the inhabitants relinquished the coast; that they were the inhabitants of these cities, by trade mostly brick and tile-makers, potters, thatchers of houses, and such like mechanics, employed in them; and, finding the low country of Dembea afforded materials for exercising these trades, they carried the article of pottery in that province to a degree of perfection, scarcely to be imagined.

Being very industrious, these people multiplied exceedingly, and were very powerful at the time of the conversion to Christianity, or, as they term it, the apostacy under Abreha and Atszbeha. At that time they declared a prince of the tribe of Judah, and of

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the race of Solomon and Menilek, their sovereign. The name of this prince was Phineas, who refused to abandon the religion of his forefathers, and from him their * sovereigns are lineally descended; so they have still a prince of the house of Judah, although the Abyssinians, by way of reproach, have called this family Bet Israel, intimating that they were rebels, and revolted from the family of Solomon and tribe of Judah; and there is little doubt but that some of the successors of Azarias adhered to their ancient faith also. Although there was no bloodshed upon difference of religion, yet, each having a distinct king, with the same pretensions, many battles were fought from motives of ambition, and rivalship of sovereign power.

About the year 960, an attempt was made by this Jewish family to mount the throne of Abyssinia, as we shall see hereafter, when the princes of the house of Solomon were nearly extirpated upon the rock Damo. This, it is probable, produced more animosity and bloodshed. At last the power of the Falasha was so much weakened, that they were obliged to leave the flat country of Dembea, having no cavalry to maintain them there, and to take possession of the rugged, and almost inaccessible rocks, in that high ridge, called the mountains of Samen. One of these, formed by Nature for a fortress, they chose for their metropolis; and it has ever after been called the Jews' Rock.

A great overthrow, which they received in the year 1600, brought them to the very brink of ruin. In that battle Gideon and Judith, their king and queen, were slain. They have since adopted a more peace-

* The sovereigns of the Falasha.—E.

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able and dutiful behaviour, pay taxes, and are suffered to enjoy their own government. Their king and queen were again called Gideon and Judith, when I was in Abyssinia; and these names seem to be preferred for those of the royal family. At that time they were supposed to amount to 100,000 effective men. Something like this, the sober and more informed Abyssinians are obliged to allow to be truth; but the circumstances of the conversion from Judaism are probably not all before us.

The only copy of the Old Testament, which they have, is the translation in Geez, the same made use of by the Abyssinian Christians, who are the only scribes, and sell these copies to the Falasha Jews; and no controversy, or dispute about the text, has ever yet arisen between the professors of the two religions. They have no keriketib, or various readings; they have never heard of talmud, targum, or cabala; neither have they any fringes* or ribband upon their garments; nor is there, as far as I could learn, one scribe among them.

I asked them, being from Judea, whence they got that language which they spoke; whether it was one of the languages of the nations on the coast of the Red Sea. They apprehended, but it was mere conjecture, that the language which they spoke was that of those nations they had found on the Red Sea, after their leaving Judea; and the reason they gave was certainly a pertinent one; that they came into Abyssinia, speaking Hebrew, with the advantage of having books in that language; but they had now forgot their Hebrew†, and it was therefore

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* Num. chap. xv. ver 38, 39. Deut. chap. xxii. ver. 12.

† We see this happened to the Jews in a much shorter time du-

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not probable they should retain any other language, in which they had no books, and which they never had learned to express by letters.

I asked them how it happened they had not Hebrew, or Samaritan copies of the law, at least the Pentateuch or Octateuch? They said they were in possession of both when they came from Jerusalem; but, their fleet being destroyed, in the reign of Rehoboam, and communication becoming very uncertain by the Syrian wars, they were, from necessity, obliged to have the Scriptures translated, or make use of the copies in the hands of the Shepherds, who, according to them, before Solomon's time, were all Jews, and consequently possessed the law in its purity.

I asked them where the Shepherds got their copy; because, notwithstanding the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, who was the foreign obstacle longest in their way, in that country the Ishmaelite Arabs had access through Arabia to Jerusalem and Syria, and carried on a great trade thither by land. They declared, very candidly, they could not give a satisfactory answer to that, as the time was very distant, and war had destroyed all the memorials of these transactions. I asked if they really ever had any memorials of their own country, or history of any other. They answered, with some hesitation, they had no reason to say they ever had any; if they had, they were all destroyed in the war with Gragné. This is all that I could ever learn from this people; and it required great patience and prudence in making the interrogations, and separating truth from falsehood; for many of them, (as is invariably the case with bar-

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ring the captivity, when they forgot their Hebrew, and spoke Chaldee ever after.

barians), if they once divine the reason of your inquiry, will say whatever they think will please you.

They deny the sceptre has ever departed from Judah, as they have a prince of that house reigning; and understand the prophecy of the gathering of the Gentiles, at the coming of Shiloh, to be fulfilled on the appearance of the Messiah, who is not yet come, when all the inhabitants of the world are to be Jews. But I must confess they did not give an explanation of this either clearly or readily, or seem to have ever considered it before. They were not at all heated by the subject, nor interested, as far as I could discern, in the difference between us; nor fond of talking upon their religion at all; though very ready at all quotations, when a person was present who spoke Amharic, with the barbarous accent that they do; and this makes me conceive that their ancestors were not in Palestine, or present in those disputes or transactions that attended the death of our Saviour, and have subsisted ever since. They pretend that the book of Enoch was the first book of Scripture they ever received. They know nothing of that of Seth, but place Job immediately after Enoch; so that they have no idea of the time in which the former lived, but said they believe it to have been soon after the flood; and they look upon the book, bearing his name, to be the performance of that prophet.

Many difficulties occur from this account of the Falasha. For, though they say they came from Jerusalem in the time of Solomon, and from different tribes, yet there is but one language amongst them all, and that is not Hebrew nor Samaritan, neither of which they read or understand; nor is their answer to this objection satisfactory, for very obvious reasons.

Ludolf, the most learned man that has writ upon the subject, says, that it is apparent the Ethiopic Old

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Testament, at least the Pentateuch, was translated from the Septuagint, because of the many Grecisms to be found in it; and the names of birds and precious stones, and some other passages that appear literally to be translated from the Greek. He imagines, also, that the present Abyssinian version is the work of Frumentius, their first bishop, when Abyssinia was converted to Christianity under Abreha, and Atzbeha, about the year 333* after Christ, or a few years later.

Although I brought with me all the Abyssinian books of the Old Testament (if it is a translation), I have not yet had time to make the comparison here alluded to; but have left them, for the curiosity of the public, deposited in the British Museum, hoping that some man of learning or curiosity would do this for me. In the meantime, I must observe, that it is much more natural to suppose that the Greeks, comparing the copies together, expunged the words or passages they found different from the Septuagint, and replaced them thence, as this would not offend the Jews, who very well knew that those who translated the Septuagint version, were all Jews themselves.

Now, as the Abyssinian copy of the Holy Scriptures, in Mr Ludolf's opinion, was translated by Frumentius above 330 after Christ, and the Septuagint version, in the days of Philadelphus, or Ptolemy II. above 160 years before Christ, it will follow, that, if the present Jews use the copy translated by Frumentius, and if that was taken from the Septuagint, the Jews must have been above 400 years without any books whatsoever, at the time of the conversion by Frumentius: so they must have had all the Jewish law, which is in perfect vigour and force among them,

* The psalter excepted.—E.

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all their Levitical observances, their purifications, atonements, abstinences, and sacrifices, all depending upon their memory, without writing, at least for that long space of 400, or more exactly 490 years *.

This, though not absolutely impossible, is surely very nearly so. We know, that at Jerusalem itself, the seat of Jewish law and learning, idolatry happening to prevail, during the short reigns of only four kings, the law, in that interval, became so perfectly forgotten and unknown, that a copy of it being accidentally found and read by Josiah, that prince, upon first learning its contents, was so astonished at the deviations from it, that he apprehended the immediate destruction of the whole city and people. To this I shall only add, that whoever considers the stiff-neckedness, stubborness, and obstinacy, which were always the character of this Jewish nation, they will not easily believe that they did ever willingly "receive the Old Testament from a people who were the avowed champions of the New."

They have, indeed, no knowledge of the New Testament but from conversation; and do not curse it in general, but treat it as a folly where it supposes the Messiah come, who, they seem to think, is to be a temporal prince, prophet, priest, and conqueror.

Still, it is not probable that a Jew would receive the law and the prophets from a Christian, without

* The Falasha Jews of Dembea probably never had a translation of the law or prophets. It is almost certain that the Arabian Jews in Yemen never possessed any. The Hebrew copies of the sacred books were used in their synagogues, by men whose profession it was to read and explain them. It is a well known fact, that the Jews dislike all translations: that of the LXX. gave great offence; and at this day they allow no version to supersede the original.—E.

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absolute necessity; though they might very well receive such a copy from a brother Jew, which all the Abyssinians were when this translation was made. Nor would this, as I say, hinder them from following a copy really made by Jews from the text itself, such as the Septuagint actually was. But, I confess, great difficulties occur on every side; and I despair of having them solved, unless by an able, deliberate analysis of the specimen of the Falasha language which I have preserved, in which I earnestly request the concurrence of the learned. A book, of the length of the Canticles, contains words enough to judge upon the question, Whence the Falasha came, and what is the probable cause they had not a translation in their own tongue, since a version became necessary* ?

I have less doubt that Frumentius translated the New Testament, as he must have had assistance from those of his own communion in Egypt; and this is a further reason, why I believe, that at his coming, he found the Old Testament already translated into the Ethiopic language and character, because Bagla, or Geez, was an unknown letter, and the language unknown, not only to him, but likewise to every province in Abyssinia, except Tigré; so that it would have cost him no more pains to teach the nation the Greek character and Greek language, than to have

* That judgment may be easily and safely made. The Falashan language has no resemblance to either Arabic or Hebrew, or any dialect of that race. It has a considerable number of words borrowed from the Geez and Amharic, from those nations who have surrounded or conquered the people who speak it; but it is evidently of an origin different from that of any other language in Habbesh. Notwithstanding Mr Bruce's reasons given in the text, there are insurmountable objections to their validity. The Geez translation is evidently the work of Greek Christians, and the letters are from the Coptic Greek.—E.

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translated the New Testament into Ethiopic, using the Geez character, which was equally unknown, unless in Tigré. The saving of time and labour would have been very material to him; he would have used the whole Scriptures, as received in his own church, and the Greek letter and language would have been just as easily attained in Amhara as the Geez; and those people, even of the province of Tigré, that had not yet learned to read, would have written the Greek character as easily as their own. I do not know that there was any Arabic translation of the Old Testament so early: if there was, the same reasons would have militated for his preferring this; and still he had but the New Testament to undertake. But having found the books of the Old Testament already translated into Geez, this altered the case; and he, very properly, continued the Gospel in that language and letter also, that it might be a testimony for the Christians, and against the Jews, as it was intended.

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CHAP. VII.

Books in Use in Abyssinia—Enoch—Abyssinia not converted by the Apostles—Conversion from Judaism to Christianity by Frumentius.

THE Abyssinians have the whole Scriptures entire as we have, and reckon the same number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at least in private hands; few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchase the whole, either of the historical or prophetical books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New; for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed, no where, except in churches, do you see more than the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in one person's possession, and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these *.

* The following is a list of the Ethiopic MSS. brought from Gondar by Mr Bruce.

I. The Old Testament, in five volumes each, 13⅛ inches long by 12 broad. Vol. I. contains Genesis and Exodus. Vol. II. Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Vol. III. Yasou, Judges, Ruth, first and second books of Chronicles, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings. The 4th contains the celebrated book of Enoch, which occupies 32 leaves, then Job, Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Michah, and so on of the minor prophets, concluding with Malachias, then the Proverbs, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Susanna, Daniel. The fifth volume contains Jeremias, the Lamentations, Ezra, and Nehemias. In this Bible the Psalms alone are wanting; a book

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Many books of the Old Testament are forgot, so that it is the same trouble to procure them, even in churches, for the purpose of copying, as to consult old records, long covered with dust and rubbish. The

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so common in Habbesh, that Mr B. used to say, that it was wonderful how he came to neglect an opportunity of having them transcribed, as it occurred more frequently than any other.

II. Two copies of the Gospels, each in two volumes. One copy is 13 inches long and 10 broad. The other is $11\frac{6}{8}$ inches long by 11 broad. It is small written, and on dark-coloured parchment. The Gospels have a discourse on their history and nature prefixed.

III. A copy of the Apostolic Epistles, in two volumes, $9\frac{6}{8}$ inches by $8\frac{6}{8}$. The first volume contains the Acts, and the Epistles by Paul, including that to the Hebrews, with arguments and a long preface. The second comprehends the Epistles by Peter, by John, by James, by Jude, along with the Apocalypse, which is ascribed to John, Bishop of Constantinia.

IV. The canons of the four first councils, and other antient institutions of the Christian church; an abridgement of the large volume sent to Rome by King Zera Jacob, and analysed by Ludolph in his Commentarius ad Historiam Abyssiniæ. This abridgment consists of 169 leaves, and was made or written at the command of Queen Sabel Wangel, mother of Adiam Segued, or Yasou the Great, in the fourth year of his reign. Other 48 leaves in the end of the volume, are occupied by a treatise of Ecclesiastical rules, composed by Abba Michaelis, Bishop of Athribis and Maleg, and written out by order of the same queen, in the fifth year of Yasou. The name of this treatise is Fows Menfusawi. These canons form the spiritual law of the church, by which all religious matters and persons are regulated, and beyond the letter of which the clergy have no powers. The whole volume contains 217 leaves, and is about a foot square.

V. The Synaxar or legends of the Greek and Abyssinian saints, arranged according to the days of the month, in four volumes, each $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches. They bear to be translations of a work compiled from all existing monuments, written, or traditionary, by Abba Michael of Athrib, and John, Bishop of Brulos. Vol. I. contains the saints from Mascaram to the end of Hedar; Vol. II. the legends from Tahsas to Yacâtit; Vol. III. the legends from Megabit to Ginbot; and Vol. IV. contains the remainder of the

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revelation of St John is a piece of favourite reading among them. Its title is, the Vision of John Abou Kalamsis, which seems to be a corruption of Apocalypsis; at the same time, we can hardly imagine that Frumentius, a Greek and a man of letters, should make so strange a mistake. There is no such thing as a distinction between canonical and apocryphal books. Bell and the Dragon, and the Acts of the Apostles,

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year. These volumes are not small, but yet they contain not the half of the stories current about the martyrs, and other pious worthies of the Coptic and Abyssinian churches.

VI. A small volume of prayers to the Virgin Mary.

VII. A Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinian from Arwé the Serpent, to Bacuffa, who died in the eighteenth century, with a very curious preface on the law and customs brought, as is said, from Jerusalem, by the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. From this preface has been extracted the account of the court, the great officers, the camp, and a variety of interesting particulars inserted in the introduction to the History of Abyssinia in Vol. III. The preface occupies 10 leaves; the whole MS. consists of 48. The greater part of these are filled by a chronicle which begins at Amda Sion, and concludes with Bacuffa. At the end are lists of the kings, such as usually are inserted in such works. The size is of the quarto order.

VIII. The celebrated book of Axum, a fabulous work, composed by some monk, in order to assert the descent of the royal family of Habbesh from Solomon, and to claim for that kingdom the sovereignty of the world. The title is Kebir Za-Neguste, "the Glory of the Kings." An account of this performance is given in a note to No. 1. of Appendix to Book iii. of the Travels inserted in Volume III.

IX. Five volumes of the History of Abyssinia, extending from Amda Sion, to Yoas, who died 1768; the size of each 11 by 10 inches. This very valuable collection is described in Vol. III. in the first number of the Appendix to Book iii. of the Travels, and in Vol. VII. in account of the Ethiopic MSS. from which Mr Bruce composed the History of Abyssinia, comprised in the fifth book of the Travels.

X. A Translation of the Song of Solomon into Amharic Falashan, Agou, Gafat, Damot Agou, and Galla.

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are read with equal devotion, and, for the most part, I am afraid, with equal edification; and it is in the spirit of truth, not of ridicule, that I say, St George and his Dragon, from idle legends only, are objects of nearly as great veneration as any of the heroes in the Old Testament, or saints in the New. The Song of Solomon is a favourite piece of reading among the old priests, but forbidden to the young ones, to deacons, laymen, and women. The Abyssinians believe that this song was made by Solomon in praise of Pharaoh's daughter; and do not think, as some of our divines are disposed to do, that there is in it any mystery or allegory respecting Christ and the church. It may be asked why did I choose to have this book translated, seeing that it was to be attended with this particular difficulty? To this I answer, The choice was not mine, nor did I at first know all the difficulty. The first I pitched upon was the book of Ruth, as being the shortest; but the subject did not please the scribes and priests, who were to copy for me, and I found it would not do. They then chose the Song of Solomon, and engaged to go through with it; and I recommended it to two or three young scribes, who completed the copy by themselves and their friends. I was obliged to procure licence for these scribes, whom I employed in translating it into the different languages; but it was a permission of course, and met with no real, though some pretended difficulty.

A nephew of Abba Salama* the Acab Saat, a young man of no common genius, asked leave from his uncle before he began the translation; to which Salama answered, alluding to an old law, That, if he

* I shall have occasion to speak much of this priest in the sequel. He was a most inveterate and dangerous enemy to all Europeans, the principal ecclesiastical officer in the king's house.

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attempted such a thing, he should be killed as they do sheep; but, if I would give *him* the money, he would permit it. I would not have taken any notice of this; but some of the young men having told it to Ras Michael*, who perfectly guessed the matter, he called for the scribe, and asked what his uncle had said to him; who told him very plainly, that, if he began the translation, his throat would be cut like that of a sheep. One day Michael asked Abba Salama, whether that was true; he answered in the affirmative, and seemed disposed to be talkative. "Then," said the Ras to the young man, "your uncle declares, if you write the book for Yagoube, he will cut your throat like a sheep; and I say to you, I swear by St Michael, I will put you to death like an ass, if you don't write it; consider with yourself which of the risks you'll run, and come to me in eight days, and make your choice." But, before the eighth day, he brought me the book, very well pleased at having an excuse for receiving the price of the copy. Abba Salama complained of this at another time, when I was present, and the name of *Frank* was invidiously mentioned; but he got only a stern look and word from the Ras: "Hold your tongue, Sir, you don't know what you say; you don't know that you are a fool, Sir, but I do; if you talk much, you will publish it to all the world."

After the New Testament they place the Constitutions of the Apostles, which they call Synodos, which, as far as the cases or doctrines apply, we may say is the written law of the country. These were translated from the Arabic. They next have a general liturgy, or book of common prayer, besides se-

* Then prime minister, concerning whom much is to be said hereafter.

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veral others peculiar to certain festivals, under whose names they go. The next is a very large voluminous book, called Haimanout Abou, chiefly a collection from the works of different Greek fathers, treating of, or explaining several heresies, or disputed points of faith, in the ancient Greek church. Translations of the works of St Athanasius, St Basil, St John Chrysostome, and St Cyril, are likewise current among them. The two last I never saw; and only fragments of St Athanasius; but they are certainly extant in Abyssinia.

The next is the Synaxar, or the Flos Sanctorum, in which the miracles and lives, or lies, of their saints, are recorded at large, in four monstrous volumes in folio, stuffed full of fables of the most incredible kind. They have a saint that wrestled with the devil, in shape of a serpent nine miles long, threw him from a mountain, and killed him. Another saint, that converted the devil, who turned monk, and lived in great holiness for forty years after his conversion, doing penance for having tempted our Saviour upon the mountain: what became of him after they do not say. Again, another saint, that never ate nor drank from his mother's womb, went to Jerusalem, and said mass every day at the holy sepulchre, and came home at night in the shape of a stork. The last I shall mention was a saint, who, being very sick, and his stomach in disorder, took a longing for partridges. He called upon a brace of them to come to him, and immediately two roasted partridges came flying, and rested upon his plate to be devoured. These stories are circumstantially told, and vouched by unexceptionable people, and were a grievous stumbling-block to the Jesuits, who could not pretend their own miracles were either better established, or more worthy of belief.

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There are other books of less size and consequence, particularly the Organon Denghel, or the Virgin Mary's Musical instrument, composed by Abba George, about the year 1440, much valued for the purity of its language, though he himself was an Armenian. The last of this Ethiopic library is the book of Enoch*. Upon hearing this book first mentioned, many literati in Europe had a wonderful desire to see it, thinking that, no doubt, many antediluvian secrets and unknown histories might be drawn from it. Upon this some impostor, getting an Ethiopic book into his hands, wrote for the title, *The Prophecies of Enoch*, upon the front page of it. M. Peirisc† no sooner heard of it than he purchased it of the impostor for a considerable sum of money: being placed afterwards in Cardinal Mazarine's library, where Mr Ludolf had access to it, he found it was a Gnostic book upon mysteries in heaven and earth, but which mentioned not a word of Enoch, or his prophecy, from beginning to end; and, from this disappointment, he takes upon him to deny the existence of any such book anywhere else. This, however, is a mistake; for, as a public return for the many obligations I had received from every rank of that most humane, polite, and scientific nation, and more especially from the sovereign, Louis XV., I gave to his cabinet a part of every thing curious I had collected abroad; which was received with that degree of consideration and attention, that cannot fail to determine every traveller of a liberal mind to follow my example.

Amongst the articles I consigned to the library at

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* Vid. Origen contra Celsum, lib. 5. Tertull. de Idolol. c. 4. Drus in suo Enoch. Bangius in Cœlo Orientis Exercit. 1. quæst. 5 and 6.

† Gassend. in vita Peirisc. lib. 5.

Paris, was a very beautiful and magnificent copy of the prophecies of Enoch, in large quarto; another is amongst the books of scripture which I brought home, standing immediately before the book of Job, which is its proper place in Abyssinian canon; and a third copy I have presented to the Bodleian library at Oxford, by the hands of Dr Douglas, the Bishop of Carlisle. The more ancient history of that book is well known. The church at first looked upon it as apocryphal; and as it was quoted in the book of Jude, the same suspicion fell upon that book also. For this reason, the council of Nice threw the epistle of Jude out of the canon; but the council of Trent, arguing better, replaced the apostle in the canon as before.

For we may observe, by the way, that Jude's appealing to the apocryphal books did by no means import, that either he believed, or warranted, the truth of them. But it was an argument, *a fortiori*, which our Saviour himself often makes use of, and amounts to no more than this; You, says he to the Jews, deny certain facts, which must be from prejudice, because you have them allowed in your own books, and believe them there. And a very strong and fair way of arguing it is; but this is by no means any allowance that these books are true. In the same manner, You, says Jude, do not believe the coming of Christ and a latter judgement; yet your ancient Enoch, who, you suppose, was the seventh from Adam, tells you this plainly, and in so many words, long ago. And indeed the quotation is word for word the same, in the second chapter of the book.

All that is material to say further concerning the book of Enoch is, that it is a Gnostic book, containing the age of the Emims, Anakims, and Egregores, descendents of the sons of God, when they fell in love with the daughters of men, and had sons by them, who

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were giants. These giants were not so charitable to the sons and daughters of men, as their fathers had been. For, first, they began to eat all the beasts of the earth; they then fell upon the birds and fishes, and ate them also; their hunger being not yet satisfied, they ate all the corn, all men's labour, all the trees and bushes, and, not content yet, they fell to eating the men themselves. The men (like our modern sailors with the savages) were not afraid of dying, but very much so of being eaten after death. At length they cry to God against the wrongs the giants had done them, and God sends a flood, which drowns both them and the giants*.

* The book of Enoch was originally written in Greek, probably by some Alexandrian Jew. The original is lost; but a large fragment of it may be found in Kircher. Oedip. Aegyp. Vol. II. p. 69.

It is singular that the oldest traditions of the East attributed the invention of the arts to a race of evil and degenerate men, who were as depraved in their morals as able in their understandings. Cain and his children invented agriculture, architecture, the uses of the metals, music, and poetry; arts, which some may think the offspring of a nobler mind, graciously condescending to lessen the sorrows of the primæval curse. The history of the giants who provoked the vengeance of God, on account of their lawless actions, is a favourite legend in Abyssinia. The names of the principal Angels, or sons of God, who went in to the daughters of men, are recorded; and the dimensions of the giants are better known in the monastery of Waldubbo, than those of the Pyramids in Europe.

To give an instance of this, which may illustrate both the nature of the Abyssinian pious fables, and their Synaxar or Martyrology itself; the book written by one Behaila Michael, and purchased so dearly by Peirisc, gives the following description of *Satniel*, or Satan, the chief of the rebel angels. After having enumerated his immense army, he adds "that his stature was 100,700 cubits, "angelic measure. His head was like a great mountain; his "mouth about 40 cubits. His eye-brows were three days jour-"ney asunder. When he wished to turn about his eye-balls, he

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Such is the reparation which this ingenious author has thought proper to attribute to Providence, in answer to the first, and best founded complaints that were made to him by man. I think this exhausts a-

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" could scarcely do it in a week's time. He had hands 70, and " feet 7000 cubits long. His face was a days journey, and * * * " 100 cubits, like those angels of whom Ezekiel, the prophet, testifies, that with two wings they covered their faces, with two " they covered their feet, and two their hands, and with two their " lower extremities." For these and other miraculous contents of the Ethiopic books of Piety, vide Ludolphi Comment. ad suam Hist. Æthiop. p. 347—351, and 285—293.

The translation from the Greek, which is found in the Ethiopic bible, under the name of Metsahaf Henoc, is divided into 90 Kefel, or chapters. It begins with this preface: " In the name of God, the merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and of great mercy and holiness. This book is the book of Henoch the prophet. May his blessing and help be with him, who loves him for ever and ever. Amen. Chap. I. The word of the blessing of Enoch, with which he blessed the chosen and the righteous, that were of old. May it be in the day of temptation a protection against all the evil and wicked. And Enoch lifted up his voice and spake, a holy man of God, while his eyes were open, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens, which the angels revealed to him. And I heard from them every thing, and I understood what I saw." After this follows the history of the angels, of their having descended from heaven, and produced giants with the daughters of men; of their having instructed these in the arts of war, and peace, and luxury. The names of the leading spirits are mentioned, which appear to be of Hebrew original, but corrupted by Greek pronunciation. The resolution of God to destroy them is then revealed to Enoch. These topics occupy about 18 chapters, which Mr Bruce had translated into English, but, weary of the subject, proceeded no further. From the 18th to the 50th chapter, Enoch is led by Uriel and Raphael through a series of visions, not much connected with the preceding. He saw the burning valley of the fallen spirits, the paradise of the saints, the utmost ends of the earth, the treasuries of the thunder and lightning, winds, rain, dew, and the angels who presided over these. He was led into the place of the general judgment, saw the ancient of days on his throne, and all the kings of the earth before him. At the 52d chap. Noah is said

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bout four or five of the first chapters. It is not the fourth part of the book; but my curiosity led me no further. The catastrophe of the giants, and the justice of the catastrophe, fully satisfied me.

I cannot but recollect, that, when it was known in England that I had presented this book to the library of the king of France, without staying a few days, to give me time to reach London, when our learned countrymen might have had an opportunity of perusing at leisure another copy of this book*, Doctor Woide set out for Paris, with letters from the Secretary of State to Lord Stormont, ambassador at that court, desiring him to assist the Doctor in procuring access to my present, by permission from his Most

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to have been alarmed at the enormous wickedness of mankind, and, fearing vengeance, to have implored the advice of his great-grandfather. Enoch told him, that a flood of waters would destroy the whole race of man, and a flood of fire punish the angels, whom the deluge could not affect. (Chap. 59.) The subject of the angels is resumed. Semeiaza, Artukafa, Arimeen, Kakaba-el, Tusael, Ramiel, Danael, and others to the amount of twenty, appear at the head of the fallen spirits, and give fresh instances of their rebellious disposition. At Kefel (62), Enoch gives his son Mathusala, a long account of the sun, moon, stars, the year, the months, the winds, and like physical phenomena. This takes up eight chapters, after which the patriarch makes a recapitulation of what he had uttered in the former pages. The remaining 20 chapters are employed on the history of the deluge, Noah's preparations for it, and the success which attended them. The destruction of all flesh, excepting his family, and the execution of Divine vengeance on the angels and their followers, conclude this absurd and tedious work.—E.

* This celebrated Coptic scholar did not leave London, for the sake of seeing the book of Enoch only, but in order to collate the MSS. of the Coptic and Sahidic versions of the scriptures, in the French Royal Library, with those which he had found in England. The result of these collations may be seen in the Fragmenta Novi Testamenti Sahidici, published after his death.—E.

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Christian Majesty. This he accordingly obtained, and a translation of the work was brought over; but, I know not why, it has nowhere appeared. I fancy Dr Woide was not much more pleased with the conduct of the giants than I was.

I shall conclude with one particular, which is a curious one: The Synaxar (what the Catholics call their Flos Sanctorum, or the lives and miracles of their saints), giving the history of the Abyssinian conversion to Christianity in the year 333, says, that when Frumentius and Œdesius were introduced to the king, who was a minor, they found him reading the psalms of David.

This book, or that of Enoch, does by no means prove that they were at that time Jews, although the fact really is so. For these two were in as great authority among the Pagans, who professed Sabaism, the first religion of the East, and especially of the Shepherds, as among the Jews. These being continued also in the same letter and character among the Abyssinians from the beginning, convinces me that there has not been any other writing in this country, or the south of Arabia, since that which rose from the hieroglyphics.

The Abyssinian history begins now to rid itself of part of that confusion, which is almost a constant attendant upon the very few annals, yet preserved, of barbarous nations in very ancient times. It is certain, from their history, that Bazen was contemporary with Augustus, that he reigned sixteen years, and that the birth of our Saviour fell on the 8th year of that prince; so that the 8th year of Bazen was the first of Christ.

Amha Yasous, prince of Shoa, a province to which the small remains of the line of Solomon fled, upon a catastrophe I shall have occassion to mention, gave me the following list of the kings of Abyssinia since the

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time of which we are now speaking. From him I procured all the books of the annals of Abyssinia, which have served to compose this history, excepting two; one given me by the king, the other, the chronicle of Axum, by Ras Michael, Governor of Tigré.

SHOA LIST OF PRINCES.

Bazen,
Tzenaf Segued,
Garima Asferi,
Saraada,
Tzion,
Sargai,
Bagamai,
Jan Segued,
Tzion Heges,
Moal Genha,
Saif Araad,
Agedar,
Abreha and Atzbeha, A. D. 333,
Asfeha,
Arphad and Amzi,
Araad,
Saladoba,
Alamida,
Tezhana,
Caleb, 522,
Guebra Mascal,
Constantine,
Bazzer,
Azbeha,
Armaha,
Jan Asfeha,
Jan Segued,
Fere Sanai,
Aderaaz,
Aizor,
Del Naad, 960 *.

I was informed that this list is kept in the monastery of Debra Libanos in Shoa; the Abyssinians receive it without any sort of doubt, though to me it seems very exceptionable. If it were genuine, it would

* The length of these princes' reigns is so great as to become incredible: but, as we have nothing further of their history but their names, we have no data on which to reform them.

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put this monarchy in a very respectable light in point of antiquity.

Great confusion has arisen in these old lists, from the kings having always two, and sometimes three names. The first is that of baptism, their second is a bye-name, and the third they take upon their inauguration. There is, likewise, another cause of mistake, which is, when two names occur, one of a king, the other the quality of a king only, these are set down as two brothers. For example, Atzbeha is the *blessed*, or *the saint*; and I very much suspect, therefore, that Atzbeha and Abreha, said to be two brothers, only mean Abraham the *blessed*; because, in that prince's time, the country was converted to Christianity. Caleb * and Elesbaas were long thought to be contemporary princes, till it was found out, by inspecting the ancient authors of those times, that this was only the name or quality of *blessed*, or *saint*, given to Caleb, in consequence of his expedition into Arabia against Phineas, king of the Jews, and persecutor of the Christians.

There are four very interesting events, in the course of the reign of these princes. The first and greatest we have already mentioned; to wit, the birth of Christ, in the 8th year of Bazen. The second is the conversion of Abyssinia to Christianity, in the reign of Abreha and Atzbeha, in the year of Christ 333, according to our account. The third, the war with the Jews under Caleb. The fourth, the massacre of the princes on the mountain of Damo. The time and circumstances of all these are well known, and I shall relate them, in their turn, with the brevity becoming a historian.

* Caleb el Atsbeha, which has been made Elesbaas, throwing away the t.

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Some ecclesiastical * writers, rather from attachment to particular systems, than from any conviction that the opinion they espouse is truth, would persuade us, that the conversion of Abyssinia to Christianity happened at the beginning of this period, that is, soon after the reign of Bazen; others, that Saint Matthias, or Saint Bartholomew, or some other of the Apostles, after their mission to teach the nations, first preached here the faith of Christ, and converted this people to it. It is also said, that the eunuch baptized by Philip, upon his return to Candace, became the Apostle of that nation, which, from his preaching, believed in Christ and his gospel. All these might pass for dreams not worthy of examination, if they were not invented for particular purposes.

Till the death of Christ, who lived several years after Bazen, very few Jews had been converted even in Judea. We have no account in scripture that can induce us to believe, that the Apostles went to any great distance from each other immediately after the crucifixion. Nay, we know positively, they lived in community together for a considerable time. Besides, it is not probable, if the Abyssinians were converted by any of the Apostles, that, for the space of 300 years, they should remain without bishops, and without church-government, in the neighbourhood of many states, where churches were already formed, without calling to their assistance some members of these churches, who might, at least, inform them of the purport of the councils held, and canons made by them, during that space of 300 years; which was absolutely

* Surius, Tom. 5. d. 24 Oct. Card. Baronius. Tom. 7. Annal. A. C. 522. N. 23.

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necessary to preserve orthodoxy, and the communion between this, and the churches of that time. And it should be observed, that if, in Philip's time, the Christian religion had not penetrated (as we see in effect it had not) into the court of Candace, so much nearer Egypt, it did not surely reach so early into the more distant mountainous country of Abyssinia; and if the Ethiopia, where Candace reigned, was the same as Abyssinia, the story of the queen of Saba must be given up as a falsehood; for, in that case, there would be a woman sitting upon the throne of that country, 500 years after she was excluded, according to their own account, by a solemn deliberate fundamental law of the land.

But it is known, from credible writers, engaged in no controversy, that this Candace reigned upon the Nile in Atbara, much nearer Egypt. Her capital also was taken in the time of Augustus, a few years before the conversion of the slave by Philip; and we shall have occasion often to mention her successors and her kingdom, as existing in the reign of the Abyssinian kings, long after the Mahometan conquest; they existed when I passed through Atbara, and do undoubtedly exist there to this day. What puts an end to all this argument is a matter of fact, which is, that the Abyssinians continued Jews and Pagans, and were found to be so above 300 years after the time of the Apostles. Instead, therefore, of taking the first of this list (Bazen) for the prince under whom Abyssinia was converted from Judaism, as authors have advanced, in conformity to the Abyssinian annals, we shall fix upon the 13th (Abreha and Atzbeha, whom we believe to be but one prince), and, before we enter into the narrative of that remarkable event, we shall observe, that, from Bazen to Abreha, being 341 years inclusive, the eighth of Bazen being the first of

Christ, by this account of the conversion, which happened under Abreha and Atzbeha, it must have been about 333 years after Christ, or 341 after Bazen.

But we know certainly, that the first bishop, ordained for the conversion of Abyssinia, was sent from Alexandria by St Athanasius, who was himself ordained to that see about the year 326. Therefore, any account prior to this ordination and conversion must be false; and this conversion and ordination must have therefore happened about the year 330, or possibly some few years later; for Socrates * says, that St Athanasius himself was then but newly elected to the See of Alexandria.

In order to clear our way of difficulties, before we begin the narrative of the conversion, we shall observe, in this place, the reason I just hinted at, why some ecclesiastical writers had attributed the conversion of Abyssinia to the Apostles. There was found, or pretended to be found, in Alexandria, a canon, of a council, said to be that of Nice, and this canon had never before been known, nor ever seen in any other place, or in any language, except the Arabic; and, from inspection, I may add, that it is such Arabic that scarce will convey the meaning that was intended. Indeed, if it be construed according to the strict rules of grammar, it will not convey any sense at all. This canon regulated the precedency of the Abuna of Ethiopia in all after councils, and it places him immediately after the prelate of Seleucia. This most honourable antiquity was looked upon and boasted of for their own purposes by the Jesuits, as a discovery of infinite value to the church of Ethiopia.

I shall only make one other observation, to obviate a

* Ludolf. vol. 2. lib. iii. cap. 2

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difficulty which will occur in reading what is to follow. The Abyssinian history plainly and positively says, that when Frumentius (the apostle of the Abyssinians) came first into that country, a queen reigned; which is an absolute contradiction to what we have already stated, and would seem to favour the story of Queen Candace. To this I answer, That, though it be true that all women are excluded from the Abyssinian throne, yet it is as true that there is a law, or custom, as strictly observed as the other, that the queen upon whose head the king shall have put the crown in his life-time, it matters not whether it be her husband or son, or any other relation, that woman is regent of the kingdom, and guardian of every minor king, as long as she shall live. Supposing, therefore, a queen to be crowned by her husband, which husband should die and leave a son, all the brothers and uncles of that son would be banished, and confined prisoners to the mountain, and the queen would have the care of the kingdom, and of the king, during his minority. If her son, moreover, were to die, and a minor succeed, who was a collateral, or no relation to her, brought, perhaps from the mountain, she would still be regent; nor does her office cease but by the king's coming of age, whose education, clothing, and maintenance, she, in the mean time, absolutely directs, according to her own will; nor can there be another regent during her life-time. This regent for life, is called Iteghé; and this was probably the situation of the kingdom at the time we mention, as history informs us the king was then a minor, and consequently his education, as well as the government of his kingdom and household, were, as they appear to have been, in the queen, or Iteghé's hand. Of this office I shall speak more in its proper place.

Meropius, a philosopher at Tyre, a Greek by na-

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tion and religion, had taken a passage in a ship on the Red Sea to India, and had with him two young men, Frumentius and Œdesius, whom he intended to bring up to trade, after having given them a very liberal education. It happened their vessel was cast away on a rock on the coast of Abyssinia. Meropius, defending himself, was slain by the natives, and the two boys carried to Axum, the capital of Abyssinia, where the court then resided. Though young, they soon began to shew the advantages attending a liberal education. They acquired the language very speedily; and, as that country is naturally inclined to admire strangers, these were soon looked upon as two prodigies. Œdesius, probably the dullest of the two, was set over the king's household and wardrobe, a place which is said to have been filled constantly by a stranger of that nation to this very day. Frumentius was judged worthy by the queen to have the care of the young prince's education, to which he dedicated himself entirely.

Having first instructed his pupil in all sorts of learning, he strongly impressed him with a love and veneration for the Christian religion; after which he himself set out for Alexandria, where, as has been already said, he found St Athanasius * newly elected to that see.

He related to him briefly what had passed in Ethiopia, and the great hopes of the conversion of that nation, if proper pastors were sent to instruct them. Athanasius embraced that opportunity with all the earnestness that became his station and profession. He ordained Frumentius bishop of that country, who

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* Vid. Baron. tom. 4. p. 331. et alibi, passim.

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instantly returned and found the young king, his pupil, in the same good disposition as formerly. He embraced Christianity; the greatest part of Abyssinia followed his example; and, though great troubles arose from heresies being propagated in the East, the church of Ethiopia, and the fountain whence it derived its faith (Alexandria), remained uncontaminated by any false doctrine, during the life of its first apostle and bishop.

But not long after this, Arianism broke out under Constantius the emperor, and was strongly favoured by him. We have, indeed, a letter of St Athanasius to that emperor, who had applied to him to depose Frumentius from his see, for refusing to embrace that heresy, or admit it into his diocese.

It would seem, that this conversion of Abyssinia was quietly conducted, and without blood; which is the more remarkable, as it was the second radical change, effected in the same manner, and with the same facility and moderation. No fanatic preachers, no warm saints, or madmen, ambitious to make or to be made martyrs, disturbed either of these happy events, in this wise, though barbarous nation, so as to involve it in bloodshed: no persecution was the consequence of this difference of tenets, and if wars did follow, they were from matters merely temporal *.

* The history of this conversion is given obscurely by Socrates, and other ecclesiastical historians of those times. Abreha and Atsbeha were totally different from Abreha el Ashram, who attacked Du-nowas, the Jewish prince of Hamyar. Yemen was conquered, and long held under Abyssinian government; but the Persians at last seized it, and retained it till the age of Mahomet, Vide Pocoikii Spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 61—65.—E.

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CHAP. VIII.

War of the Elephant—First Appearance of the Small-Pox—Jews persecute the Christians in Arabia—Defeated by the Abyssinians—Mahomet pretends a divine Mission—Opinion concerning the Koran—Revolution under Judith—Restoration of the Line of Solomon from Shoa.

IN the reigns of the princes Abreha and Atzbeha, the Abyssinian annals mention an expedition to have been undertaken into the farthest part of Yemen, which the Arabian authors, and indeed Mahomet himself, in the Koran, calls by the name of the War of the Elephant. The cause of it was this. There was a temple, nearly in the middle of the peninsula of Arabia, that had been held in the greatest veneration for about 1400 years. The Arabs say, that Adam, when shut out of Paradise, pitched his tent on this spot; while Eve died, and was buried on the shore of the Red Sea, at Jidda. Two days journey east from this place, her grave, of green sods about fifty yards in length, is shewn at this day. In this temple, also, was a black stone, upon which Jacob saw the vision mentioned in Scripture, of the angels descending and ascending into heaven.

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The great veneration the neighbouring nations paid to this tower and idol, suggested the very natural thought of making the temple the market for the trade from Africa and India; the liberty of which, we may suppose, had been in some measure restrained, by the settlements which foreign nations had made on both coasts of the Red Sea. To remedy which, they chose this town in the heart of the country, accessible on all sides, and commanded on none, calling it Becca, which signifies the House; though Mahomet, after breaking the idol, and dedicating the temple to the true God, named it Mecca, under which name it has continued the centre or great mart of the India trade to this day.

In order to divert this trade into a channel more convenient for his present dominions, Abreha built a very large church or temple in the country of the Homerites, and nearer the Indian Ocean. To encourage also the resort to this place, he extended to it all the privileges, protection, and emoluments, that belonged to the Pagan temple of Mecca.

One particular tribe of Arabs, called the Beni Coreish, had the care of the Caaba, for so the round tower of Mecca was called. These people were exceedingly alarmed at the prospect of their temple being at once deserted, both by its votaries and merchants; to prevent which, a party of them, in the night, entered Abreha's temple, and, having first burned what part of it could be consumed, they polluted the part that remained, by besmearing it with human excrements.

This violent sacrilege and affront was soon reported to Abreha, who, mounted upon a white elephant, at the head of a considerable army, resolved, in return, to destroy the temple of Mecca. With this intent, he marched through that stripe of low country along the

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sea, called Tehama, where he met with no opposition, nor suffered any distress but from want of water; after which, at the head of his army, he sat down before a town, which he supposed to be the true object of his vengeance.

Abou Taleb (Mahomet's grandfather, as it is thought) was then keeper of the Caaba, who had interest enough with his countrymen, the Beni Koreish, to prevail on them to make no resistance, nor any signs of wishing a defence. He presented himself early to Abreha, upon his march. There was a temple of Osiris at Taief, a rival to that of Mecca, which the Beni Koreish looked on with a jealous eye. Abreha was so far misled by the intelligence given him by Abou Taleb, that he mistook the temple of Taief for that of Mecca, and razed it to the foundation, after which he prepared to return home.

He was soon after informed of his mistake, and not repenting of what he had already done, resolved to destroy Mecca also. Abou Taleb, however, had never left his side: by his great hospitality, and the plenty he procured to the emperor's army, he so gained Abreha, that hearing, on inquiry, he was no mean man, but a prince of the tribe of the Beni Koreish, noble Arabs, he obliged him to sit in his presence, and kept him constantly with him as a companion. At last, not knowing how to reward him sufficiently, Abreha desired him to ask any thing in his power to grant, and he would satisfy him. Abou Taleb, taking him at his word, wished to be provided with a man that should bring back forty oxen the soldiers had stolen from him.

Abreha, who expected that the favour he was to ask was to spare the Temple, which he had in that case resolved to grant, could not conceal his astonishment at so silly a request, nor help signifying this to

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Abou Taleb, in a manner that shewed it had lowered him in his esteem. Abou Taleb, smiling, replied very calmly, "If that before you is the Temple of God, as I believe it is, you shall never destroy it, if it is his will that it should stand. If it is not the Temple of God, or (which is the same thing) if he has ordained that you shall destroy it, I will not only assist you in demolishing it, but will help you in carrying away the last stone of it upon my shoulders. As for me, I am a shepherd, and the care of cattle is my profession; twenty of those oxen which are stolen are not my own, and I shall be put in prison for them to-morrow; for neither you nor I can believe that God will interfere in this; and therefore I applied to you for a soldier who will seek the thief, and bring back my oxen, that my liberty be not taken from me."

Abreha had now refreshed his army, and from regard to his guest, had spared the Temple; when, says the Arabian author, there appeared, coming from the sea, a flock of birds called Ababil, having faces like lions, and each of them holding, in his claws, a small stone like a pea, which he let fall upon Abreha's army, so that they were all destroyed. The author of the manuscript* from which I have taken this fable, which is also related by several other historians, and mentioned by Mahomet in the Koran, does not seem to swallow the story implicitly. For he says that there is no bird that has a face like a lion; that Abou Taleb was a Pagan, Mahomet being not then come; and that the Christians were worshippers of the true God, the God of Mahomet: and therefore if any miracle was wrought here, it was a miracle of the devil, a victory in favour of Paganism, and destructive

* El Hameesy's Siege of Mecca.

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of the belief of the true God. In conclusion, he says, that it was at this time that the small-pox and measles first broke out in Arabia, and almost totally destroyed the army of Abreha. But if the stone, as big as a pea, thrown by the Ababil, had already killed Abreha's army to the last man, it does not appear how any of them could die afterwards, either by the small-pox or measles.

All that is material, however, to us, in this case, is, that the time of the siege of Mecca will be the æra of the first appearance of that terrible disease, the small-pox, which we shall set down about the year 356; and it is highly probable, from other circumstances, that the Abyssinian army was the first victim to it.

As for the church Abreha built near the Indian Ocean, it continued free from any further insult till the Mahometan conquest of Arabia Felix, when it was finally destroyed in the Khalifat* of Omar. This is the Abyssinian account, and the Arabian history of the war of the elephant, which I have stated as found in the books of the most credible writers of those times.

But the whole narrative is liable to an insuperable objection. Abreha reigned 27 years; he was converted to Christianity in 333, and died in 360; now, it is scarcely possible, in the short space of 27 years, that all Abyssinia and Arabia could be converted to Christianity. The conversion of the Abyssinians is represented to be a work of little time; but the Arab author, Hameesy, says, that even Arabia Felix was full of churches when this expedition took place, which is very improbable. And what adds still more to the improbability, is, that part of the story which states

* Phatuh el Yemen.

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that Abreha conversed with Mahomet's father, or grandfather. For, supposing the expedition to be in 356, Mahomet's birth was in 558, so there will remain 202 years, by much too long a period for two lives. I do believe we must bring this expedition down much lower than the reign of Abreha and Atzbeha, the reason of which we shall see afterwards.

As early as the commencement of the African trade with Palestine, the Jewish religion had spread itself far into Arabia; but after the destruction of the temple by Titus, a great increase both of number and wealth had made that people absolute masters in many parts of that peninsula. In the Neged, and as far up as Medina, petty princes, calling themselves kings, were established; who, being trained in the wars of Palestine, became very formidable among the pacific commercial nations of Arabia, deeply sunk in Greek degeneracy.

Phineas, a prince of that nation from Medina, having beat St Aretas, the Governor of Najiran, began to persecute the Christians by a new species of cruelty, by ordering certain furnaces, or pits full of fire, to be prepared, into which he threw as many of the inhabitants of Najiran as refused to renounce Christianity. Among them was Aretas, so called by the Greeks, Aryat by the Arabs, and Hawaryat, which signifies the *evangelical*, by the Abyssinians, together with ninety of his companions. Mahomet, in his Koran, mentions this tyrant by the name of the Master of the Fiery Pits, without either condemning or praising the execution; only saying, "the sufferers shall be witness against him at the last day."

Justin, the Greek Emperor, was then employed in an unsuccessful war with the Persians, so that he could not give any assistance to the afflicted Christians in Arabia; but in the year 522 he sent an em-

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bassy to Caleb, or Elesbaas, king of Abyssinia, entreating him to interfere in favour of the Christians of Najiran, as he too was of the Greek church. On the Emperor's first request, Caleb sent orders to Abreha, Governor of Yemen, to march to the assistance of Aretas, the son of him who was burnt, and who was then collecting troops. Strengthened by this reinforcement, the young soldier did not think proper to delay the revenge of his father's death, till the arrival of the Emperor; but having come up with Phineas, who was ferrying his troops over an arm of the sea, he entirely routed them, and obliged their prince, for fear of being taken, to swim on his horse to the nearest shore. It was not long before the Emperor had crossed the Red Sea with his army; nor had Phineas lost any time in collecting his scattered forces to oppose him. A battle was the consequence, in which the fortune of Caleb again prevailed.

It would appear that the part of Arabia, near Najiran, which was the scene of Caleb's victory, belonged to the Grecian Emperor Justin, because Aretas applied directly to him at Constantinople for succour; and it was at Justin's request only, that Caleb marched to the assistance of Aretas, as a friend, but not as a sovereign; and as such also, Abreha, Governor of Yemen, marched to assist Aretas, with the Abyssinian troops, from the south of Arabia, against the stranger Jews, who were invaders from Palestine, and who had no connection with the Abyssinian Jewish Homerites, natives of the south coast of Arabia, opposite to Saba.

But neither of the Jewish kingdoms were destroyed by the victories of Caleb, or Abreha; nor the subsequent conquest of the Persians. In the Neged, or north part of Arabia, they continued not only after the appearance of Mahomet, but till after the Hegira. For it was in the 8th year of that æra, that Hybar, the

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Jew, was besieged in his own castle in Neged, and slain by Ali, Mahomet's son-in-law, from that time called Hydar Ali, or Ali the Lion.

Now the Arabian manuscripts say positively, that this Abreha, who assisted Aretas, was Governor of Arabia Felix, or Yemen; for by this last name I shall hereafter call the part of the peninsula of Arabia belonging to the Abyssinians; so that he might very well have been the prince who conversed with Mahomet's father, and lost his army before Mecca, which will bring down the introduction of the small-pox to the year 522, just 100 years before the Hegira; and both Arabian and Abyssinian accounts might be then true.

The two officers who governed Yemen, and the opposite coast Azab, which, as we have above mentioned, belonged to Abyssinia, were stiled Najashi, as was the king also, and both of them were crowned with gold. I am therefore persuaded, this is the reason of the confusion of names we meet with in Arabian manuscripts, that treat of the sovereigns of Yemen. This, moreover, is the foundation of the story found in Arabic manuscripts, that Jaffar, Mahomet's brother, fled to the Najashi, who was governor of Yemen, and was kindly treated by him, and kept there till he joined his brother at the campaign of Hybarea. Soon after his great victory over the Beni Koreish, at the last battle of Beder Hunein, Mahomet is said to have written to the same Najashi a letter of thanks, for his kind entertainment of his brother, inviting him (as a reward) to embrace his religion, which the Najashi is supposed to have immediately complied with. Now, all this is in the Arabic books, and all this is true, as far as we can conjecture from the accounts of those times, very partially writ by a set of warm-headed bigotted zealots; such as all Arabic authors (historians of the

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time) undoubtedly are. The error only lies in the application of this story to the Najashi, or king of Abyssinia, situated far from the scene of these actions, on high cold mountains, very unfavourable to those rites, which, in low, flat, and warm countries, have been temptations to slothful and inactive men to embrace the Mahometan religion.

A most shameful prostitution of manners prevailed in the Greek church, as also innumerable heresies, which were first received as true tenets of their religion, but were soon after persecuted in a most uncharitable manner, as being erroneous. Their lies, their legends, their saints and miracles, and, above all, the abandoned behaviour of the priesthood, had brought their character, in Arabia, almost as low as that of the detested Jew; and, had they been examined by judges perfectly neutral, it must still have been lower.

The dictates of nature in the heart of the honest Pagan, constantly employed in long, lonely, and dangerous voyages, awakened him often to reflect who that Providence was that invisibly governed him, supplied his wants, and often mercifully saved him from the destruction, into which his own ignorance or rashness were leading him. Poisoned by no system, perverted by no prejudice, he wished to know and adore his benefactor, with purity and simplicity of heart, free from those fopperies and follies with which ignorant priests and monks had disguised his worship. Possessed of charity, steady in his duty to his parents, full of veneration for his superiors, attentive and merciful even to his beasts; in a word, containing in his heart the principles of the first religion, which God had inculcated in the heart of Noah, the Arab was already prepared to embrace a much more perfect one than what Christianity, at that time dis-

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figured by folly and superstition, appeared to him to be.

Mahomet, of the tribe of Beni Koreish (at whose instigation is uncertain), took upon himself to be the apostle of a new religion, pretending to have, for his only object, the worship of the true God. Ostensibly full of the morality of the Arab, of patience and self-denial, superior even to what is made necessary to salvation by the gospel, his religion, at the bottom, was but a system of blasphemy and falsehood, corruption and injustice. Mahomet and his tribe were most profoundly ignorant. There was not among them but one man that could write, and it cannot be doubted he was to be Mahomet's secretary; but unfortunately Mahomet could not read his writing. The story of the angel, who brought him leaves of the Koran, is well known; and so is all the rest of the fable. The wiser part of his own relations, indeed, laughed at the impudence of his pretending to have a communication with angels. Having, however, gained, as his apostles, some of the best soldiers of the tribe of Beni Koreish, and persisting with great uniformity in all his measures, he established a new religion, upon the ruins of idolatry and Sabaism (for Sabaism itself seems to have suffered this corruption), in the very temple of Mecca.

Nothing severe was enjoined by Mahomet; and the frequent prayers and washings with water, which he directed, were gratifications to a sedentary people, in a very hot country. The lightness of this yoke, therefore, recommended it strongly to those who were disgusted with long fasting, penances, and pilgrimages. The poison of this false, yet not severe religion, spread itself rapidly from that fountain to all the trading nations: India, Ethiopia, Africa, all Asia, suddenly embraced it; and every caravan carried into

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the bosom of its country, people not more attached to trade, than zealous to preach and propagate their new faith. The temple of Mecca (the old rendezvous of the Indian trade) perhaps was never more frequented than it is at this day, and the motives of the journey are equally trade and religion, as they were formerly.

I shall here mention, that the Arabs began very soon to study letters, and came to be very partial to their own language. Mahomet himself held out his Koran, for its elegance alone, as a greater miracle than that of raising the dead. This was not universally allowed at that time; as there were even then compositions supposed to equal, if not to surpass it. In my time, I have seen in Britain a spirit of enthusiasm for this book, in preference to all others, not inferior to that which possessed Mahomet's followers. Modern unbelievers (Sale and his disciples) have gone every length, but to say directly that it was dictated by the Spirit of God. Excepting the command in Genesis, chap. i. ver. 3. "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light;" they defy us to shew in Scripture a passage equal in sublimity to many in the Koran. Following, without inquiring, what has been handed down from one to another, they would cram us with absurdities, which no man of sense can swallow. They say the Koran is composed in a style the most pure and chaste, and that the tribe of Beni Koreish was the most polite, learned, and noble of all the Arabs.

But the Beni Koreish were, from the earliest days, according to their own* account, part established at Mecca, and part robbers on the sea-coast, and they

* El Hameesy.

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were all children of Ishmael. Whence, then, came their learning, or their superior nobility? Was it found in the desert, in the temple, or did the robbers bring it from the sea? Soiouthy, one of those then most famous for knowledge in the Arabic, has quoted from the Koran many hundred words, either Abyssinian, Indian, Persian, Ethiopic, Syrian, Hebrew, or Chaldaic, which he brings back to the root, and ascribes them to the nation they came from. Indeed it could not be otherwise; these caravans, continually crowding with their trade to Mecca, must have vitiated the original tongue, by an introduction of new terms and new idioms, into a language labouring under a penury of vocables. But shall any one for this persuade me, that a book is a model of pure, elegant, chaste English, in which there shall be found a thousand words of Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, French, Spanish, Malabar, Mexican, and Laponian? What would be thought of such a medley? Or, at least, could it be recommended as a pattern for writing pure English *?

* This opinion of the Arabic language is not admissible in its full extent. Soiouthi's work cannot warrant the conclusion drawn from it. There is no language, however original and pure, which does not possess many words derived from other nations, on account of intercourse and gradual improvement. The structure of the Arabic is so peculiar to itself, that such additions may easily be detected. The dictionaries of Golius and Giggæus prove that the written Arabic has more radical nouns and verbs of its own produce than any language we know; and the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, three of its ancient sister dialects, shew that it is descended from the oldest tongue in the world. Though the Arabs, in the vast countries which they have colonized, and even in their own peninsula, speak hundreds of local dialects, which are unintelligible to different tribes, yet these dialects on paper are easy to an European scholar, skilled in (Al Kamus) the ocean of

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What I say of the Koran may be applied to the language of Arabia in general: when it is called a copious language, and professors wisely tell you, that there are six hundred words for a sword, two hundred for honey, and three hundred that signify a lion, still I must observe, that this is not a copious language, but a confusion of languages. These, instead of distinct names, are only different epithets. For example, a lion in English may be called a young lion, a white lion, a small lion, a big lion: I may style him also the fierce, the cruel, the enemy to man, the beast of the desert, the king of beasts, the lover of blood. Thus it is in Arabic: and yet it is said that all these are words for a lion. Take another example in a sword; the cutter, the divider, the friend of man, the master of towns, the maker of widows, the sharp, the straight, the crooked; all which may be said in English as well as in Arabic.

The Arabs were a people who lived in a country, for the most part, desert; their dwellings were tents, and their principal occupation feeding and breeding cattle, and they married with their own family. The language, therefore, of such a people should be very poor; there is no variety of images in their whole

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the ancient language. After reading most of the Arabic printed books, and a considerable number of MSS., with great deference to those who are abler to judge, I think the purity of the Koran, as to language, incontestible. The dialect is not so original in its form as that of the book of Job, or the Geez, the dialect of Hamyar in Yemen. Still our modern English is a much more corrupted dialect of Anglo-Saxon, than any modern Arabic is of the old language. The Persic, which retains the structure of its radical tongue, but borrows greatly from the Arabic, is exactly like our own language, which preserves its Saxon structure, but consists mostly of French and Latin. The opinion given of the Arabic poetry is also incorrect.—E.

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country. They were always bad poets, as their works will testify; and if, contrary to the general rule, the language of Arabia Deserta became a copious one, it must have been by the mixture of so many nations meeting and trading at Mecca. It must, at the same time, have been the most corrupt, where there was the greatest concourse of strangers, and this was certainly among the Beni Koreish at the Caaba. When, therefore, I hear people praising the Koran for the purity of its style, it puts me in mind of the old man in the comedy, whose reason for loving his nephew was, that he could read Greek; and being asked if he understood the Greek so read, he answered, Not a word of it, but the rumbling of the sound pleased him.

The war, that had distracted all Arabia, first between the Greeks and Persians, then between Mahomet and the Arabs, in support of his divine mission, had very much hurt the trade carried on, by universal consent, at the temple of Mecca. Caravans, when they dared venture out, were surprised on every road, by the partizans of one side or the other. Both merchants and trade had taken their departure to the southward, and established themselves south of the Arabian Gulf, in places which (in ancient times) had been the markets for commerce, and the rendezvous of merchants. Azab, or Saba, was rebuilt; also Raheeta, Zeyla, Tajoura, Soomaal, in the Arabian Gulf, and a number of other towns on the Indian Ocean. The conquest of the Abyssinian territories in Arabia forced all those that yet remained to take refuge on the African side, in the little districts which now grew into consideration. Adel, Mara, Hadea, Aussa, Wypo, Tarshish, and a number of other states, now assumed the name of kingdoms, and soon obtained power and wealth superior to many older ones.

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The governor of Yemen (or Najashi), converted now to the faith of Mahomet, retired to the African side of the Gulf. His government, long ago shaken to the very foundation by the Arabian war, was at last totally destroyed. But the Indian trade at Adel wore a face of prosperity, that had the appearance of ancient times.

Without taking notice of every objection, and answering it, which has too polemical an appearance for a work of this kind, I hope I have removed the greatest part of the difficulties, which, for a long time, have prevented the reader from understanding this part of the history. One, however, remains, which the Arabian historians have mentioned, viz. that this Najashi, who embraced the faith of Mahomet, was avowedly of the royal family of Abyssinia. To this I reply, he certainly was a person of that rank, and undoubtedly a nobleman, as there is no nobility in that country but from relationship to the king. But although no person can be related to him by the male line, the females, even the daughters of those princes who are banished to the mountain, marry whom they please; and all the descendants of that marriage become noble, because they must be allied to the king. So far, then, these writers may truly assert, that the Mahometan governor of Yemen, and his posterity, were this way related to the king of Abyssinia. But the supposition, that any heirs male of this family became mussulmen, is, beyond any sort of doubt, without foundation or probability.

Omar, after subduing Egypt, destroyed the valuable library at Alexandria; but his successors differed from him very widely in their opinions of profane learning. Greek books of all kinds (especially those of geometry, astronomy, and medicine), were searched for everywhere, and translated. Sciences flourished and

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were encouraged. Trade, at the same time, increased, and kept pace with knowledge, Geography and astronomy were everywhere diligently studied, and solidly applied to render the voyages of men from place to place safe and expeditious. The Jews (constant servants of the Arabs in their commerce) imbibed a considerable share of their taste for learning.

At this time they had greatly increased in number. By the violence of the Mahometan conquests in Arabia and Egypt, where their sect chiefly prevailed, they became very powerful in Abyssinia. Arianism, and all the various heresies that distracted the Greek church, were received there, in their turn, from Egypt; the bonds of Christianity were dissolved, and people in general were much more willing to favour a new religion, than to agree with, or countenance any particular sect of their own, if it differed from that which they adopted, in the merest trifle. This had destroyed their metropolis in Egypt, just now delivered up to the Saracens; and the dispositions of the Abyssinians seemed so very much to resemble their brethren the Copts, that a revolution in favour of Judaism was thought full as feasible in the country, as it had been in Egypt in favour of the newly published, but unequivocal religion of Mahomet.

It has been already observed, an independent sovereignty, in one family of Jews, had always been preserved on the mountain of Samen, and the royal residence was upon the high-pointed rock, called the Jews' Rock: Several other inaccessible mountains served as natural fortresses for this people, now grown very considerable, by frequent accessions of strength from Palestine and Arabia, whence the Jews had been expelled. Gideon and Judith were then king and queen of the Jews, and their daughter Judith (whom in Amhara, they call Esther, and sometimes Saat, i. e.

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fire *), was a woman of great beauty, and talents for intrigue; had been married to the governor of a small district called Bugna, in the neighbourhood of Lasta, both which countries were likewise much infected with Judaism.

Judith had made so strong a party, that she resolved to attempt the subversion of the Christian religion, and, with it, the succession in the line of Solomon. The children of the royal family were at this time, in virtue of the old law, confined on the almost inaccessible mountain of Damo in Tigré. The short reign, sudden and unexpected death of the late king Aizor, and the desolation and contagion which an epidemical disease had spread both in court and capital, the weak state of Del Naad, who was to succeed Aizor, and was an infant; all these circumstances together, impressed Judith with an idea, that now was the time to place her family upon the throne, and establish her religion by the extirpation of the race of Solomon. Acccordingly, she surprised the rock Damo, and slew the whole princes there, to the number, it is said, of about 400.

Some nobles of Amhara, upon the first news of the catastrophe at Damo, conveyed the infant king, Del Naad, now the only remaining prince of his race, into the powerful and loyal province of Shoa, and by this means the royal family was preserved to be again restored. Judith took possession of the throne, in defiance of the law of the queen of Saba, by this, the first interruption of the succession in the line of Solomon; and, contrary to what might have been expected, from the violent means she had used to acquire the crown, she not only enjoyed it herself, during a

* She is also called by Victor, Tredda Gabez.

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long reign of forty years, but transmitted it also to five of her posterity, all of them barbarous names, originating probably in Lasta: These are said to be, Totadem, Jan Shum, Garima Shum, Harbai, and Marari.

Authors, as well Abyssinian as European, have differed widely about the duration of these reigns. All that the Abyssinians are agreed upon is, that this whole period was one scene of murder, violence, and oppression.

Judith and her descendants were succeeded by relations of their own, a noble family of Lasta. The history of this revolution, or cause of it, are lost and unknown in the country, and therefore vainly sought after elsewhere. What we know is, that with them the court returned to the Christian religion, and that they were still as different from their predecessors in manners as in religion. Though usurpers, as were the others, their names are preserved with every mark of respect and veneration. They are, Tecla Haimanout, Kedus Harbé, Itibarek, Lalibala, Imeranha Christos, and Naacueto Laab.

Not being kings of the line of Solomon, no part of their history is recorded in the annals, unless that of Lalibala, who lived in the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, and was a saint. The whole period of the usurpation, comprehending the long reign of Judith, will, by this account, be a little more than 300 years, in which time eleven princes are said to have sat upon the throne of Solomon; so that, supposing her death to have been in the year 1000, each of these princes, at an average, will have been a little more than twenty-four years, and this is too much. But all this period is involved in darkness. We might guess; but since we are not able to do more, it answers no good purpose to do so

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much. I have followed the histories and traditions which are thought the most authentic in the country, the subject of which they treat, and where I found them; and though they may differ from other accounts given by European authors, this does not influence me; as I know that none of these authors could have any other authorities than those I have seen, and the difference must be only the fruit of idle imagination, and ill-founded conjectures of their own.

In the reign of Lalibala, about the year 1200, there being a great persecution in Egypt against the Christians, after the Saracen conquest, and especially against the masons, builders, and hewers of stone, who were looked upon by the Arabs as the greatest of abominations; this prince opened an asylum in his dominions to all fugitives of that kind, of whom he collected a prodigious number. Having before him as specimens the ancient works of the Troglodytes, he directed a number of churches to be hewn out of the solid rock in his native country of Lasta, where they remain untouched to this day, and where they will probably continue till the latest posterity. Large columns within are formed out of the solid rock, and every species of ornament preserved, that would have been executed in buildings of separate and detached stones, above ground.

This prince undertook to realize the favourite pretensions of the Abyssinians, to the power of turning the Nile out of its course, so that it should no longer be the cause of the fertility of Egypt, now in possession of the enemies of his religion. We may imagine, if it was in the power of man to accomplish this undertaking, it could have fallen into no better hands than those to whom Lalibala gave the execution of it; people driven from their native country by those

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Saracens who now were reaping the benefits of the river, in the places of those they had forced to seek habitations, far from the benefit and pleasure afforded by its stream.

This prince did not adopt the wild idea of turning the course of the Nile out of its present channel; upon the possibility, or impossibility of which, the argument (so warmly and so long agitated) always most improperly turns. His idea was to famish Egypt: and, as the fertility of that country depends not upon the ordinary stream, but the extraordinary increase of it by the tropical rains, he is said to have found, by an exact survey and calculation, that there ran on the summit, or highest part of the country, several rivers which could be intercepted by mines, and their stream directed into the low country southward, instead of joining the Nile, augmenting it, and running northward. By this he found he should be able so to disappoint its increase, that it never would rise to a height proper to fit Egypt for cultivation. And thus far he was warranted in his ideas of succeeding (as I have been informed by the people of that country), that he did intersect and carry into the Indian Ocean, two very large rivers, which have ever since flowed that way; and he was carrying a level to the lake Zawaia, where many rivers empty themselves in the beginning of the rains, which would have effectually diverted the course of them all, and could not but in some degree diminish the current below.

Death, the ordinary enemy of all those stupendous Herculean undertakings, interposed too here, and put a stop to this enterprise of Lalibala. But Amha Yasous, prince of Shoa (in whose country part of these immense works were), a young man of great understanding, and with whom I lived several months in the most intimate friendship at Gondar, assured me

that they were visible to this day; and that they were of a kind whose use could not be mistaken; that he himself had often visited them, and was convinced the undertaking was very possible with such hands, and in the circumstances things then were. He told me likewise, that in a written account which he had seen in Shoa, it was said that this prince was not interrupted by death in his undertaking, but persuaded by the monks, that if a greater quantity of water was let down into the dry kingdoms of Hadea, Mara, and Adel, increasing in population every day, and, even now, almost equal in power to Abyssinia itself, these barren kingdoms would become the garden of the world; and such a number of hungry Saracens, dislodged from Egypt by the first appearance of the Nile's failing, would fly thither: that they would not only withdraw those countries from their obedience, but be strong enough to overrun the whole kingdom of Abyssinia. Upon this, as Amha Yasous informed me, Lalibala gave over his first scheme, which was the finishing of Egypt; and that his next was employing the men in subterraneous churches; a useless expence, but more level to the understanding of common men than the former.

Don Roderigo de Lima, ambassador from the king of Portugal, in 1552, saw the remains of these vast works, and travelled in them several days, as we learn from Alvarez, the chaplain and historian of that embassy *, which we shall take notice of in its proper place.

Lalibala was distinguished both as a poet and an orator. The old fable, of a swarm of bees hanging

* See Alvarez' relation of this embassy.

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to his lips in the cradle, is revived and applied to him, as foretelling the sweetness of his elocution.

To Lalibala succeeded Imeranha Christos, remarkable for nothing but being son of such a father as Lalibala, and father to such a son as Naacueto Laab; both of them distinguished for works very extraordinary, though very different in their kind. The first, that is those of the father, we have already hinted at, consisting in great mechanical undertakings. The other was an operation of the mind, of still more difficult nature, a victory over ambition, the voluntary abdication of a crown, to which he succeeded without imputation of any crime.

Tecla Haimanout, a monk and native of Abyssinia, had been ordained Abuna, and had founded the famous monastery of Debra Libanos in Shoa. He was a man at once celebrated for the sanctity of his life, the goodness of his understanding, and love to his country; and, by an extraordinary influence obtained over the reigning king Naacueto Laab, he persuaded him, for conscience sake, to resign a crown, which (however it might be said with truth, that he received it from his father) could never be purged from the stain and crime of usurpation.

In all this time, the line of Solomon had been continued from Del Naad, who, we have seen, had escaped from the massacre of Damo, under Judith. Content with possessing the loyal province of Shoa, they continued their royal residence there, without having made one attempt, as far as history tells us, towards recovering their ancient kingdom.

RACE OF SOLOMON BANISHED, BUT REIGNING IN SHOA.

Del Naad, Mahabar Wedem, Ibga Sion, Tzenaf

Araad, Nagash Zaré, Asfeha, Jacob, Bahar Segued, Adamas Segued, Icon Amlac.

Naacueto Laab, of the house of Zaguè, was, it seems, a just and peaceable prince.

Under the mediation of Abuna Tecla Haimanout, a treaty was made between him and Icon Amlac, consisting of four articles, all very extraordinary in their kind.

The first was, that Naacueto Laab, prince of the house of Zaguè, should forthwith resign the kingdom of Abyssinia to Icon Amlac, reigning prince of the line of Solomon, then in Shoa.

The second, that a portion of lands in Lasta should be given to Naacueto Laab and his heirs in absolute property, irrevocably and irredeemably; that he should preserve, as marks of sovereignty, two silver kettle drums, or nagareets; that the points of the spears of his guard, the globes that surmounted his sendick (that is, the pole upon which the colours are carried) should be silver, and that he should sit upon a gold stool, or chair, in form of that used by the kings of Abyssinia; and that both he and his descendants should be absolutely free from all homage, services, taxes, or public burdens for ever, and styled kings of Zaguè, or the Lasta kings.

The third article was, that one third of the kingdom should be appropriated and ceded absolutely to the Abuna himself, for the maintenance of his own state, and support of the clergy, convents, and churches in the kingdom; and this became afterwards an æra, or epoch, in Abyssinian history, called the Æra of Partition.

It was provided by the fourth and last article, that no native Abyssinian could hereafter be chosen Abuna, even though ordained at, and sent from, Cairo. In virtue of this treaty, concluded, and solemnly sworn

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to, Icon Amlac ascended the antient throne of his family, and the other contracting parties entered upon the provisions respectively allotted them.

The part of the treaty, most liable to be broken, was that which erected a kingdom within a kingdom.—However, it is one of the remarkable facts in the annals of this country, that the article between Icon Amlac and the house of Zaguè was carefully observed for near 500 years. It was made before the year 1300, and never violated till the treacherous murder of the Zaguean prince, Allo Fasil, in the unfortunate war of Begemeder, in the reign of Joas, 1768, the year before I arrived in Abyssinia. Neither has any Abuna native of Abyssinia ever been known since that period. As for the extraordinary grant of one-third of the kingdom to the Abuna, it has been in a great measure gradually resumed, as we may naturally suppose, upon different pretences of misbehaviour, true or alleged, by the king or his ministers. The first great invasion of it was made in the subsequent reign of king Theodorus, who, far from losing popularity by this, has been ever since reckoned in Abyssinia a model for sovereigns.

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APPENDIX

TO

BOOK II.

No. I.

A summary View of the Egyptian Theology, as collected from the Hebrew and Greek Writers, with the names of the Gods in the ancient native Language, intended to illustrate the remains of Egyptian Antiquity, mentioned in Books I. ana II.

The name Egyptus is supposed to have been derived from a town, now called Keft, in the Thebaid: it was unknown among the natives, who called their country by various appellations, corresponding to the different districts. The *lower* part of Egypt was called Chemi, the *upper* Mares. The Nomoi, or small divisions into which the whole was arranged by Sesostris, after Egypt became subject to one king, were called Meshshoti, or Plains *(ni meshshoti nte Chemi)*, the fields of *Ham*. The earliest notice of the Egyptian language is found in Genesis, chap. xii. ver. 15. where the princes and palace of Pharaoh, properly Pha-ouro, "the king," are mentioned as existing in the days of Abraham; trifling as the information is, it shews that the language was completely different from what has been called Hebrew, about 300 years after the deluge. Greater light is soon received

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on the subject. Joseph is sold about A. M. 2990, to Potiphar, the prime minister of "the king." Egypt is then opened fully to our view, as a country abounding in corn, the granary of Syria, and rich in gold, fine linen, and all the other luxuries of a wealthy oriental kingdom. The order of priests make their appearance, and On *tebaki*, the city of the sun; which shews that the religion of Egypt was already formed. *On*, in the Coptic language, signifies splendour, or the sun: *Baki* is a city, having the feminine article before it: *Pi*, or *Phi*, and sometimes *Pha*, signifying "the" precedes the word *Ouro*, a king, as it does all masculine nouns. Potiphera, the priest of On, whose daughter the king gave to Joseph, is undoubtedly the Hebrew way of writing *Pe-hont-phre*, the high priest of the sun; as Asenath, with less certainty, may be translated the servant of Neith. The regard paid to sacred animals was already established; the priests formed a separate body, and monopolized the royal favour, as well as the science of the country. In a few centuries after, the Jewish law prohibited the worship of God by statues, pictures, or any emblems, but the Israelites set up the golden image of the Apis, or sacred ox, in the wilderness; and after the revolt of the ten tribes, Jeroboam, who had been protected by Shishak the celebrated conqueror, erected two images of the same kind in Bethel, or Bethon, as it is called by LXX, and in Dan. The Greek writers are next to be consulted for the details of this very ancient system of national superstition, which can be traced far beyond the utmost bound of European learning.

From Herodotus to the last historians of Alexandria, we find a large mass of information respecting Egypt, which, if collected and arranged with sound judgment, and the assistance of the Coptic language, would form a very interesting history of that celebrated nation.

The priests (*Ni-oueb* *) and sacred scribes (*Ni-sah* and

* A common priest was called *oueb*; the high-priest, or head of the college, *P-hont*; a sacred scribe, *sah*; a scientific person, *erpetouncbet*; and a learned man, or savant, *sabe*; from which last the Greeks, it is said, borrowed the word σοφος, a sage. Vide Jablonski and La Croze, passim.

Er-pet-ounebet) were divided into sects, on the grand opinions and topics which have always interested the speculative world. According to the most prevailing doctrine, matter and mind were conjoined like the body and soul, and both eternal. The various striking parts of visible nature were deities, whose attributes were revealed by the active effects, or passive qualities, of these objects. Though all the tribes from the Euphrates to Egypt seem to have considered the Supreme Being as separated from the Chaos, the Egyptians faintly acknowledged this distinction. They considered *both* united in one confusion from eternity, till at last the spirit, or mind, collected itself under the form of fire, or fiery air, from the rest. This primæval being disposed the dark chaos into the form of an egg; and brooding over it like a bird, produced the visible world, the sun, moon, and the rest of the system. It was accounted male or female, as were most of the Egyptian deities, according as its generative character; for, under the masculine form, considered as the Creator of the world, the name of the *Demiurgus* was Phthas, "the Disposer;" under the feminine, Neith, "the Determiner," or Isis, "the Ancient." The same spirit was supposed to animate nature; to govern and produce all its effects, whether good or bad. As the source of natural good, it was called Ih-nouphi, "the Good Spirit;" and of natural evil, Tithrambo, "the Wrathful." The other deities of Egypt were all elements, or parts of nature, accounted active principles, and loved or feared according as those were beneficent or destructive. The mass of a superstition, which at first view appears as confused as the chaos itself, is accordingly analysed into the following principles.

I. *Athor*, "primæval darkness," and the chaos, from which arose the world; in Coptic, Edsorh, "night;" the Aphrodite and Venus of Greece and Rome; because, in conjunction with Phthas she produced the globe, and of course of all the visible deities of Egypt. Her symbol was various; she was worshipped in Athor-t-baki, or Atarbechis, the metropolis of the Prosopitide Nome.

II. *Phthas*, the creating or disposing spirit, that spread his wings on the globe (See the celebrated symbol over the gates of all the temples). This great being was named Æther,

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or pure air and fire, by the priests; and thence, by the Greeks, Hæphaistus, and the Latins, Vulcanus. His temple at Memphis existed in the time of Strabo; his worship there was coëval with the city. Phthas was the god who presided over knowledge of all kinds, particularly of future events.

III. *Neith*, the goddess of wisdom (Αθηνᾶ at Athens, which was an Egyptian colony); the decreer, or predestinator; the former principle under a female character and name; and finely described by Solomon, Prov. viii. 22—31. As Phthas was the god of divination and prophecy; so this deity also knew the past, the present, and the future; and obtained, on that account, extraordinary veneration. Her temple was at Sais (S-hōou), in the Delta, where she had a college of priests, from whom Plato learned most of his philosophy.

IV. *Ih-nouphi*, "the Good Spirit;" *Agathodæmon*, or "soul of the world;" an eternal and immortal principle, which was universally acknowledged in Egypt. The writings of Plato bear ample testimony to this part of the superstition. The soul of the world animated the whole planetary system, in all its parts. The symbol of Cneph was an entire serpent; his chief temple was in the Thebaid. His worshippers refused to pay the sumptuous expences commonly lavished by the other Egyptians on the maintenance and funerals of the sacred animals, because they adored an invisible divinity. The good spirit was also adored at Heliopolis, and in many other cities.

V. *Tithrambo*, "the Wrathful," otherwise called *Thermōuti*, "the causer of death," a female deity; the Hecate of the Greeks. This goddess was accounted the cause of all natural and moral evil. She was sometimes called Isis; and in that character was a personification of what was called in the East, "the malignity of matter."

VI. The large number of deities, which were referred to the sun in different aspects, and producing different effects, were,

1. *Oeish-iri* (Osiris), "the maker of time; called in common language *Phrē*, or *Pi-phrē*, "the sun;" and *Rōmpheh* (in Acts vii. 43. Ρεμφαν), the "king of heaven." Another name was *On*, "light." The sun was worshipped at Heliopolis in the days of Joseph, who married the daughter of P-hont-phrē (Greek Πετεφρης, or, Πεντεφρης), "the high-

priest of the sun." This was the greatest of all the visible deities of Egypt; for whom, along with Io or Isis, "the moon," the spiritual part of the theology was so much forgotten by the priests, that they accounted both eternal. Osiris was called Bacchus by the Greeks.

2. *Amoun*, or *Amouoin*, the "bringer forth of light." The sun was reckoned in Egypt a "polymorphous deity;" that is, changing his being and form according to his particular place in the zodiac. As the giver of light and summer in Egypt, he was "Osiris;" but when he entered the sign Aries, in his course northward, he was the bringer forth of light, and termed Amun. The city of Amoun was Ma-n-Amoun (the No-ammon of the Jews), well known by the name of Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, over the world. The symbol was a living ram, and the god was painted with the head of that animal.

3. *Djom*, called by the Greeks Hercules, the name signifying *strength*. This was the sun come to full power, in the *vernal* season; and producing, along with Isis, or Nature, fertility in the country. This god was worshipped at Djom-n-nouti (Sebynnitis), in the middle of the Delta. The word Djom-n-nouti signifies, the strength of the god, viz. Osiris, the sun.

4. *Or*, the son of Isis (Nature or the Earth), and Osiris, the sun. The name was applied to the sun in the *summer* season, in the constellation Leo; when he was supposed to promote the inundation, and salubrity of the country. It is supposed to be a contraction of Eu-ou-er, "the effective virtue" of Osiris; or of Ouro, a king.

5. *Sor-êpi* (Serapis.) This was the sun in the winter signs, and corresponding to the Pluto of the Greeks. The name signifies the coffin of the Apis, the sacred bull, which was an emblem of the sun and moon. When that animal died, or, according to some, had been killed at a definite age by the priests, he was embalmed, and carried into certain vaults, dug under ground in the rocks of the Saccara, near Memphis. An ancient temple stood near the spot, which was never opened, but during the seventy-two days of public lamentation for the death of the bull. The sun, in the southern hemisphere, was said, like the Apis, to be laid

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in the grave; and considered, during that period, an infernal deity.

6. *Am-phōh-rat* (Harpocrates). The sun, newly turned from the winter solstice, was painted like an infant, with its finger on its lips, sitting; or making a feeble attempt to stand on lotus leaves. The name signifies halting, or lame; for so they denoted the slender strength of the sun, returning from the southern tropic.

7. *Mentes* (Mendes), Entes, or Antaeus, and Shmoun; the sun, considered as the power of generation, and worshipped in Egypt under these names. The two first are derived from *tégi*, to plant or breed; the last signifies eight, and shews that Mentes was accounted the eighth of the greater deities. The symbol of this divinity was a he-goat; before which the Egyptian populace practised the vilest rites of a deplorable superstition*.

Thus the sun, according to its different qualities or aspects, was adored, under seven names, with varying ceremonies, in Egypt. As the ruler of times and seasons, it was Osiris; when it advanced brightly in the spring, it was Ammon; when, waxing in strength, it made the fruits of the earth flourish, it was Djom, or Hercules; and fully arrived at the northern tropic, it was Or, or Apollo. After the autumnal Equinox, when its power was gradually diminishing, began the name and ceremonies of Serapis; and again, when the first effects were perceived of its motion northwards, it was termed Harpocrates. It was then represented by the figure of a new-born babe, apparently lame, sitting on the leaves of the lotus. These were the polymorphous, or many-formed states of Osiris: as to Mendes, his influence was perennial.

VII. 1. The moon, in the Egyptian theology, was reckoned the female principle of Nature. Under the name of Isis she was said to saturate the earth with moisture, rule

* The purest opinions may be rendered absurd by using low or trivial symbols of them. Because the pupil of a cat's eye resembles the new moon, cats are sacred: because a beetle undergoes changes, it is an emblem of immortality, and sacred: because a goat is lascivious, it is a symbol of the fertility of Nature, &c. &c.

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the waters, and give the maternal substance of all vegetables and animals; of which Osiris was the father and author. Isis was accounted more venerable than Osiris; though both were eternal. She was characterised as cold and moist; and, to use a trite expression, which, not two centuries ago, was common in every book on medicine, he was reckoned warm and dry. On this theory, which arose from a trivial fact in natural history, that of heat and moisture being necessary to germination, Osiris was feigned to be the husband of Isis. But a distinction was often made between the moon, or celestial Isis, and the terrestrial, which signified the earth. In the allegorical or sacred dialect of Egypt, that country was called Isis, and the Nile, the emanation of Osiris. In this sense, Isis is generally taken for Nature (φυσις παναιολος), in all her various forms.

The name Isis (I-si), in Coptic, is supposed to signify, "growing abundance." According to another derivation (Is-dgen), it means, "from the beginning," "or the ancient." Isis was a divinity which represented Nature as a female principle; an idea drawn by the first philosophers from the history of their own species. Her power extended over the Chaos, of which she was the personification; over the earth, that rose from it; and natural good and evil, which the Egyptians supposed to be occasioned by certain mixed qualities inherent in matter itself. When Isis was the cause of natural evil, which they always thought to be produced by the earth, or matter unblessed by Osiris, she was called Tithrambo, "the wrathful;" and her anger was anxiously deprecated. As queen of earth and heaven, she was worshipped with more veneration than most of the other gods. The moon was her symbol; she was painted as a female, and combined in her character some of the principal attributes of Cybele, Venus, Juno, and Ceres, by which names she is often mentioned in Greek and Latin writers.

The ancient Egyptians maintained, that the world was created at the time of the rise of Sothis, the Dog-star. Sothis was called by them the star of Isis; for when this arose, the inundation commenced; and Isis, or the moon, was supposed to be in the constellation of Orion, which was sacred to Or. The rise of Sothis was said to take place about the eleventh hour of the night; and the feast of the new moon,

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which succeeded it, was celebrated with uncommon joy. When the rise of the dog-star, and the new moon, coincided, it was accounted a complete period of time; for the sun and moon were both in Sothis, at the creation of the world. On this birth-day of Nature, it was usual to form conjectures regarding the plenty or scarcity of the coming season: for the Egyptians began the month Thoth, the first of their civil year, at this time, a custom still observed among the Copts and Abyssinians. The name, according to Plutarch, signifies, "the pregnant" (Si-oti); for Sirius was reputed "big with Isis, or the future year."

2. The new moon, in Egypt, was called P-ho-basht (Bubastis), viz. "uncovering the face." She was worshipped at a celebrated city of the same name, on the east side of the Delta. Under this character she united the attributes of the Latin Diana, and Juno Lucina. She was the goddess of women in labour; for, according to Pliny, who copied from excellent authorities in these superstitions, "cuncta humifico suo spiritu laxat, ideoque partum sæpenumerò celeriorem faciliorenque reddit;" her light was supposed to emit a moisture or dew, which, in the period of her waxing, was deemed to be beneficial; in that of her wane, noxious to animal life. Certain plants had different medicinal virtues, according as they were gathered in the one or the other period. The cat was sacred, on account of the crescent form of the pupil of its eyes, to this divinity, to whom they offered cakes* (πιμματα), instead of a victim disgraceful to human nature.

3. But a still more venerable personification of the moon was Buto, by the Greeks translated Latona. Her character involved a complex idea of the moon's influence, joined with the earth and water. The nightly air, filled with cold vapour, at times pierced by the moon beam, at others dark, was reckoned the womb of Nature. Hence Buto was said to have nursed Arpocrates, the infant emblem of the returning sun; Orus, the solar power in the spring; and Bubastis, the new moon, in the fens, near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile. A magnificent temple of this goddess stood in a city

* Vide Athenæi, lib. iv. p. 172. and Jeremiah, chap. xliv. ver. 19.

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of her own name, in the Phetnuthite, or *sacred* nome. This district lay south of the lower Sebynnitic canton, which, according to Ptolemy, extended to the sea, along a branch of the Nile. What the name of that branch was, is controverted: on the authority of Herodotus, it is called the Sebynnitic; though the positions of Buto, given by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, lead us to conclude, that it lay far to the west of the mouth so named by Herodotus. Orus and Bubastis, the nurslings of Buto, had temples in the same city. The oracle of Buto was the most renowned in Egypt; and the isle Chemmis, situated in a lake near the temple, was the prototype of Delos. (Vide Herodoti, Lib. II. c. 155.)

Isis, or Io, the moon, therefore, according to her different qualities, received various names and worship. Her epithets, also, were different. Sometimes she was called Maut, "mother;" at others, Athuri, "the earthly house of Or;" and Methuer, "the causer of fulness." The name Buto is supposed, by Jablonski, to be a corruption of Mō-ouoth, "the attracter of water;" a quality ascribed to this goddess by her native votaries.

The other planets seem to have received no divine honours in Egypt, but in as far as they were consecrated to the gods. Saturn was named the star of Tithrambo, or the goddess of vengeance. Mars, under the title of Ertosi, the propagator, was sacred to Djom, or Hercules; Jupiter, to Osiris; and Mercury, to Orus. Venus, the brightest ornament of every sky, was consecrated to Isis, the female generative principle of nature. Namque genitali rore conspergens non terræ modo conceptus implet, verum animantium omnium stimulat *. On this account (as Jablonski ingeniously observes), the hieroglyphic of the Phallus is the common astronomical mark for that planet at this day.

VIII. The Nile, the great fountain of Egyptian plenty, received many complicated and mysterious honours. Its source was unknown in the towns of the Delta; but their inhabitants adored its waters as the emanation of Osiris, the efflu-

* Vide Jablonski, Panth. Æg. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 131.

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ence of the gods, and the cause of every blessing. The feast of the Nile, which was held about the summer solstice, was a carnival of unbounded riot and licentiousness; nor when the inundation was at its height were these discontinued. Sacrifices were continually offered to render the god propitious; and the whole nation testified unbounded joy, when the waters rose to the due measure of cubits. Egypt has lost her glory, and the worst part of all her ancient institutions, her religion; but the hymn is still chanted to this prolific stream, whose progress equally delights the breast of the Coptic slave, and of his Mamaluke tyrant.

The Nile was represented like a man, with his Peeks, or cubits, playing around him in the shape of children. But the wiser Egyptians reckoned the Nile only the gift of Isis and Osiris, as the symbol of whom they worshipped a bull of a particular colour and beauty. This representative of the sun and moon was selected from all the herds of Egypt, by the priests. The custom was established before the days of Moses; but it would seem that a bull was then consecrated to the sun, and a heifer to the moon, or Io. In course of time, the worship of all the animals, kept as symbols of the gods, was eclipsed by that of the Apis, whose qualities were emblematic of both those deities, and likewise extended to the phenomena of the Nile.

1. The sacred bull of Memphis, called Api, or Epi, a word signifying "numeration," and alluding to the measurement of the Nile, was, according to the priests, conceived by no earthly means, but by a flash of light from the *moon*. The immaculate cow could never experience a second pregnancy. His speckled variety of white and black denoted the various phases of his celestial parent. A white spot on his right side represented her crescent, a knot beneath his tongue her nodes or conjunctions, and twenty-seven other real or imaginary marks, of similar import, rendered him worthy of his honours. Certain priests, whose office it was to watch accidental opportunities of that kind, as soon as they had found a calf answering the description, announced it to the people, who instantly burst out into immoderate joy. He was fed on milk, four months, in a house raised according to the precepts of Thoth, on the spot where he was discovered. The front of this temporary edifice was built by mystical

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wisdom towards the rising sun. When this period was ended, on the day of the new moon he was put into a boat constructed above like a bed-chamber, and conveyed to Memphis. A hundred priests attended him to the Nilometer, or measuring column of the Nile, where he remained forty days in the custody of women alone, who, before this brute image of God, dishonoured religion, and their sex. He was then conducted into the splendid stall in Memphis, dedicated to his absurd and frivolous superstition.

The gestures and actions of the Apis were reckoned oracular; and regarded as such by men more enlightened than the Egyptians themselves. When he attempted to lick the robe of Eudoxus, the celebrated Greek astronomer, the priests foretold from it, that he would have a short, but glorious life. He refused meat from the hand of Germanicus Cæsar, an omen of the bad fortune of that prince, which has not been forgotten by many celebrated historians.

The Apis sometimes died of disease, or old age; but the sacred books limited his life to twenty-five years, because in that period, the sun and moon returned into the same place in the heavens. He was then drowned in the priests' well, his death announced to the people, and Egypt was dissolved in tears and lamentation. The carcase, richly embalmed, was conveyed into the pits of the Sacara or desert, near Memphis, where some of these mummies have been discovered.

The Apis was symbolic of Osiris, Isis, and the Nile; a type of abundance, divine beneficence, and generation.

The Apis, in his tomb, then called Ser-apis, was reckoned an emblem of Osiris, or the sun, in the winter solstice. A temple of Osiris, in this character, was built in the desert not far from the pyramids, nearly covered with sand. But there was likewise a temple of Serapis, in the island of the Nile opposite Memphis, where stood the Nilometer, of which he was reckoned the guardian. In later times, the worship of Serapis gained an uncommon degree of popularity in Egypt, chiefly owing to one of the Ptolemies, who wished to import a deity from Pontus. As soon as the priests saw the image of the stranger, they exclaimed, It is Serapis, our divinity Serapis, who presides over the river! and instantly received him under this native appellation into

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the number of their gods. A magnificent temple at Alexandria long attested the zeal of their Greek sovereigns, which, had it been seconded by the genius of Egyptian architecture, might have outlived the Roman, Christian, and Arab conquests.

2. The bull of On te baki (Heliopolis,) though more obscure, was of greater antiquity than the Apis. He was sacred to the sun, whose worship in that city was older than the days of Joseph. His jet-black colour was chosen to represent the swarthiness, which its heat produces on the human frame, and contrary to the nature of other animals of his species, his hair was all bent in a contrary direction, to denote the opposite motions of the sun and the earth. The vigorous make of the rest of his body was emblematical of the solar strength and fertility. Egypt deserted the courts of this grazing deity for the more popular mysteries of Apis and Serapis; but the wisest guardians of her ancient superstition pointed to the forsaken manger of Mnevis,* and from this, and the mutilated, broken, and overturned obelisks and temples before their eyes, judged too truly, that the ancient religion and independence of their country had vanished for ever.

3. The good spirit (Ih-nouphi) though asserted to have been incapable of representation by any image, was adored at Hermonthis, under the symbol of a bull. From the accounts of this matter, it is easy to perceive that the Egyptians often confounded the sun and that deity. The bull of Hermonthis was, in most respects, the same as that of Heliopolis; extraordinary care having been taken to choose, or breed, the animal with imaginary tokens, which denoted the opposite motion of the earth and sun, and other physical, or astronomical doctrines.

IX. Not content with adoring the sun in the many different characters already mentioned, the Egyptians worshipped him in the horizon, when rising and setting, under the name of Anubis. The figure was that of a man with a dog's head, all of gold, to denote his flaming beauty in these sta-

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Mnouocin, dedicated to the sun.

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tions. Dogs were consecrated to Anubis, because this deity (the idea of the horizon is implied) attends faithfully on Isis (Nature) seeking her Osiris (the sun.) The absence of the solar power in winter was represented in long processions, in which the priests, weeping and deploring, carried about the images of Isis, and her attendant, Anubis. At last, they pretended that she had found her child (the sun newly passed the winter solstice), by means of Anubis, (the horizon.) Then an image of the boy (Arpocrat) with his finger on his mouth, was presented; the priests shouted for joy; and Anubis was made to dance, as glorying in what he had done. Annoub, in Coptic, signifies the golden, an epithet derived from the glow of morning and evening, resembling that metal. The Greeks and Latins called this deity Hermes and Mercurius, from the idea of his attending on the gods.

X. The evil genius in Egypt, called Typhon (Theou-p-hōou), which signifies a noxious wind, was a local deity. The hot scorching gale, the Arabian Simoom, which blows over barren sands, and sometimes taints with its breath the springs of Egypt, was considered to be the type of the evil principle. All barren lands, the sea, and the desert near Pelusium, were the demesnes of Typhon. Impure, contemptible, and noxious animals, the hippopotamus, ass, and crocodile, were sacred to this deity. Every bad harvest, or unpropitious summer, was attributed to the usurpation of Typhon over Isis and Osiris. He was called Aphoph, the giant, whose prosperous ambition once obliged the gods to hide themselves under the disguise of particular animals. In Egypt, says Lucian, you may meet with many sages, scribes, and prophets, who will tell you their fears and transfigurations. He was called at times, Bēbi, the imprisoned wind, on the very antient idea of winds being confined in caves, and Sesh, the violent or destroying. His symbol was the ass (Sedge); and red-haired men, a variety uncommon in Egypt, fell at times victims to his imaginary malice. The wife of Typhon was Neph-tosh, the barren limits of Egypt, and his mistress Thōou-res, the south-wind, otherwise called Esos, the Ethiopian.

Djom, Mendes, and Serapis, in late times, were all worshipped in Kahi-n-noub (Canopus), the land of gold, near Alexandria. An earthen vessel, used for filtering the Nile

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water, was mistaken by the Greeks for the symbol of a particular deity, by them called Canopus. Great licentiousness was practised in the festivals of these gods. If there ever was any fine gold in the religion of Egypt, it was now changed into dross; its spirit had vanished, and the mortal part exhaled only corruption.

XI. All the inventions of Egyptian wisdom were attributed to an imaginary personage, called Thoth. The oldest discoveries and records were engraved on columns, called by his name. He was the servant of Pthash, the god of prophecy and foreknowledge, who imparted to him in visions the knowledge of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, letters, music, and astrology. He presided over the sculptured caves of Thebes,

> Where Science in her first abode,
> A little child, conversed with God.

The knowledge of Egypt was engraven on pillars, called Djer-n-shai, all which were denominated the columns of Thōouti, a word signifying, " collecting together," and also " a pillar of this description." From these monuments a series of books, the scriptures of the priesthood, were composed on religion, history, morals, and natural science.

XII. Tousertho, or as he is called in Latin Aesculapius, the god of medicine, was related to Or, or Apollo, and instructed in his art by the books of Thoth. Shmoun and Serapis were confounded with this deity, of whom little is known with certainty.

Such was the theology of antient Egypt. The short view of it, given in this place, is chiefly extracted from the Egyptian Pantheon of Paul Ernest Jablonski, a work of uncommon research and learning. The author was well skilled in the Coptic language, without which no person can decide on any topic in the antient literature of that country. He was the friend of La Croze and De Vignoles, whose labours in Coptic antiquities are both profound and accurate. Yet this sketch is not founded on their authority only; for the evidence which they produce for their opinions has been weighed and examined.

From this, and the following dissertation, these conclusions seem unavoidable: That the Egyptian religion is the produce

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of the country, peculiar to itself, and without any marks of foreign improvement, or innovation. Isis, Orus, Amoun, Typhon, and Thoth, are natives of Egypt, receive their names from its vernacular language, and worship from its physical situation:

That the Egyptians were of one, not of different races; that the same language was used in higher and Lower Egypt; and that we have sufficient authority to believe, that they descended from the Thebaid into the Delta:

That if they did not come from Ethiopia, neither did they issue from Arabia; for the two languages are radically different; and the genealogy by Moses must be understood to refer to very antient tribes of the same race with the Lybians, Philistines, Capthorites, and others, who first roamed around the marshes of the Delta, but were expelled by the inhabitants of the Thebaid.

The Pharaohs were called by the names of the Gods, and many of the most antient on record bear evidence of the high antiquity of the national superstition. In the catalogue of the kings of Thebes by Eratosthenes, we find, Menes, the first king, whose name from Amoein, signifies, the son of Amoun; Athothes (Ha-thoth) the son of Thoth; Mares (Moi-re) given by the sun; Nitochris (Neit-nge-sro) Neith the victorious. These are translated by Eratosthenes, Διωνιος, Ερμογενης, Ηλιοδωρος, and Αθηνα νικηφορος.

Names, compounded witn the syllable *re* or *phre*, occur very fiequently in the books that treat of Egypt. This is the name of the sun, and on that account the following antieut words are so translated. Tyris, Ti-re, given by the sun; Mephres, the same; Uebphres, in Greek, Ουεφρης, in Hebrew, Hophra, the priest of the sun; Mephra-muthosis, given of the sun, and bringing death. Of a similar descent are Acenchres, Myncherinus, Cephren, Moeris, Sephuris, and innumerable others *.

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* Vide Marshami, Can. Chron. passim.

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Some of the kings were called after other gods, as Siphoas, Sempthas, the servant of Phtash; Ennoub-n-ennoub, the son of Anubis; Psammis, the son of Djom, or Hercules; Psammeneit, the might of Minerva; Amosis or Amounsi, related to Ammoun. Ramses Mi-amoun, the name of the 16th king of the Diospolitan dynasty, in the list of Manetho signifies likewise Ramses, given of Amoun; but the meaning of Ramses, the name of many kings, is unfortunately obscure. The word first occurs in Exod. cap. v. 11. as the name of a city built by the Israelites along with Pithom, "the fortification." It is only the latter part of the name which is doubtful, and even this appears to be derived from Shesh, or Shesht, which signifies to make an attack upon, to insult, to hinder, or stand on violent defence against. Shesht, or Shosht, from the same verb, means a key; and rem, or ram, is the common word used to signify a possessor, or inhabitant of. Ram-Shesh is therefore, "possessing defence," a name sufficiently applicable to a frontier garrison. Examples of the power of rem are abundant in La Croze's Dictionary; for instance, Rem-n-chemi, an Egyptian, rem-baki, a citizen, rem-Rakot, an Alexandrian, rem-n-kati, an intelligent man, rem-raush, a merciful man, &c. from rem, "indigena, incola."

The priests were named after the gods, thus: Pentephres, or P-hont-mphrē, the high priest of the sun; Penteathyr, the high priest of Athor, or Venus; Potamoun, the priest of Amoun; Pemphos, corrupted from Pe-hont-m-pthas, or Pent-phthas, the priest of Vulcan; Petosiris, of Osiris; Pateimit of Minerva. Solon studied at Heliopolis, under a priest, called P-se-nouphi, "a servant of the good being." Pythagoras attended Oinouphi, and Eudoxus Sah-n-nouphi, or Sechnouphis, the scribe of the Agathodæmon. From these, probably, came the laws of Athens, the wisdom of the schools of Tarentum, and the Greek astronomy.

Common people took the names of the Gods, the men prefixing pi to the word, and the women ta. These were continued long after Christianity, and martyrs occur of the names, Pi-or, Pi-anoub, Pi-amoun, Pi-mendes, or Pammenes. The name of Ta-or, a female confessor, appears in ecclesiastical history *.

* A curious, and in the scarcity of materials a valuable dis-

When Egypt became low in esteem, and the natives so depressed that every person was obliged, for the sake of his character, to pretend to a Greek or Roman origin, they converted their harsh names into Ammonius, Heliodorus, Agathodœmon, Photinus, Isidorus, and the like, and so concealed their native extraction.

The Egyptian cities derived their names either from the gods, who were principally worshipped in them; from some circumstances of situation, or rather accidental causes, which are now forgotten. No accounts are, however, less to be depended upon than those of the Greeks, who were accustomed to name any place in Egypt from whatever peculiarity first struck their eye, not by its native appellation. Of such origin are Gynaecopolis, the city of women; Leontopolis, of lions; Cynopolis, of dogs; Crocodilopolis, of crocodiles, and the like. The true names of these places have perished.

Ithribi, Rakoti, Schōou, Busiri, Pa-shmoun, Djem-n-nouti, On and Manouf, are the antient names of Athribis, Alexandria, Sais, Busiris, Pachnamounis, Sebennytus, Heliopolis, and Memphis. The meaning of Thribi and Shoou are uncertain; Rakoti signifies a descent; Busiris, the tomb of Osiris, a name common in Egypt; Djem-n-nouti is "the strength of the god" (Hercules). P-ashmoun, is the city of Mendes, or Pan; On signifies the sun, and Ma-nouf the place or city of good. It may be called after Amenophis, or Mo-nouphi, "the gift of the good spirit," there being many kings of that name; but as there are two places in the Delta, Pa-nouf-res, and Pa-nouph-het the higher and lower Nouf, to-day actually called Menoufie, they seem all of the same derivation. The Greeks heard the capital of Egypt named quickly Mĕnŭf, and from this formed Μεμφις. The Jews dropt the initial M, and wrote Nŏph.

Tamiati, Damietta, means the landing, or place of the beacon. P-timen hof, Demenhur, the region of the serpent, or asp. Tikoi, Dagué, the field. Terenouti, Teranē, the gate or mouth of the god. Djané, Zoan, or Tanis, the soft ground, or the city of the low lands. Thmoui, Thmuis, the lioness. Ta-nosher, Tentyra, the she-vulture; Ma-n-A-

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sertation might be written on the antient names of men and places in Egypt.

moun, in Hebrew, No ammoun, Thebes; Erment, Hermonthis, the western city; Neout, a district on the coast, the borders; Pi-lac, Bulac, the angle or corner of the river; Oah-si, the Oasis, inhabited land (in the desert); Bok-n-or, Bocchoris, the name of a man, signifying the slave of Orus, and of a city called after him.

Other names of cities, of which the meaning is less certain, have been greatly corrupted by the Arabs. Such are Sanemsatf, Sausaghaf; Taube, Thueh; Tkou, Dagoue; Djapasen, Sabash; Parallou, Burlos (the sands); Thoni, Tunes, a rock, the name of an island in the lake of Matarcah; Thenesi, Tenuis, in the same lake; Sun-hori, Shanhur; Phaiat, Abydus, in Greek, Marriout, in Arabic; Pharbait, Belbeis; Kalliōpe, Kelıub; Petpeh, Atphie; Hnes, or Pi-hnes, Beh-ne-esa, or Behensa; Sioout (the glorious), Asiut; Phiom, the sea, or lake, applied to the province near the Birket El Keroun. In all Coptic words, the Arabs generally change the hard Coptic *t* into *d*, and *p* into *b*.

Tell, in Coptic, means a hill, or heap. Hence the ruins of the ancient Egyptian cities, raised on mounds of burnt bricks, are, at present, called by this name.

The Egyptians called a temple Pi-erphei, a word preserved in the Arabic name, Berbi; the river was by the priests mystically termed Oik-maau, by Diodorus Siculus, written Ωκεαμην, and accurately translated τροφη μητης, the mother-aliment, because water was reckoned the first principle of all things. The Greeks applied this name to the sea. The place of departed spirits was called in Egypt, Amenti, the receiver and giver; because it received them from the dying, and gave them to the infant; for the natives believed that the human soul was immortal, a ray of Osiris, which, on its entrance into flesh, became polluted by natural and moral infection. On this belief they founded the whole doctrine of fasting, washing, chastity, and other ascetic practices. They tried the dead by a kind of inquest, to know if they deserved to lie in the sepulchre of their fathers. The body was embalmed, in hopes that the spirit might again re-enter it, after a series of transmigrations, at the end of 3000 years. The Egyptian tenets of the Amenti, or infernal regions, are beautifully and faithfully given by Virgil, Æneid, lib. vi. v. 724—771; 426—443; 608—624, et passim.

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No. II.

Additional Proofs that Egypt was Peopled from the South, and the confines of Ethiopia.

I. The reader will easily perceive that a great part of the theory in Mr Bruce's work, is founded on the position, that Egypt was peopled from Ethiopia. The opinion was taken from Diodorus Siculus, and merits the more attention, as it has been often contradicted by the learned, who at this day are inclined to consider the Egyptians a colony from Arabia. Accordingly, it has been taken for granted, that the ancient Egyptian was a cognate dialect of the Hebrew or Arabic; and Bochart, a celebrated restorer of ancient geography, has proceeded in his work on that supposition. After examining, with some attention, the remains of the Egyptian language, and comparing it candidly with all the dialects of the Arabic tongue which are preserved, the conclusions I have obtained have been very different from those of Bochart.

To illustrate these, it will first be necessary to define what I mean by the Egyptian and Arabic languages; then to state their comparative antiquity, and their points of resemblance and difference.

It has been long known and allowed, that the same language was formerly spoken from the banks of the Tigris to the border of Egypt, and as far north as Nineveh, and south as the straits of Babelmandeb. Castel's Lexicon is sufficient to establish the fact; the writings of the Jews determine its antiquity. The Babylonians, Assyrians, and inhabitants of Aram (the Syria of the Greeks), the Phœnicians, Canaanites, all the Arabs from the Red Sea to Hamyar near the straits of the Indian Ocean, spoke dialects of the same original tongue, which, from accent, and various acceptation of the words, became as unintelligible amongst themselves, as if they had been radically different. But, to illustrate farther this subject, the Teutonic, or Gothic lan-

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guage, is the root of all the dialects of Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. These nations were from one stock; so were the inhabitants of all the countries before mentioned. The whole region was of one language, and one speech.

The oldest specimen extant of that language is the writings of Moses. The book of Job is probably a composition coëval with these; it is unquestionably purer Arabic than the books of Moses, but less instructive as to the present subject of investigation. For the Hebrew legislator gives the names, and the reasons for the names of the first of mankind, with the history of the foundation of the earth, and the kingdoms into which it was at first divided. His information is also of such a nature as cannot be disputed.

By the ancient Egyptian, I mean the Coptic language, as preserved in translations of the Scriptures and books of piety, after Egypt was converted to Christianity. It was mingled with Greek, nearly as much as the English is with Norman French, from the long government of Grecian colonies and princes in the country. After the revival of learning in Europe, this language attracted an inconsiderable share of notice. Kircher published an Arabic and Coptic vocabulary, from a MS. brought from Egypt. Part of the Scriptures made their appearance afterwards. Jablonski applied the language to the elucidation of the Egyptian religion; La Croze formed a Lexicon of true Coptic words, having rejected the Greek, which are easily distinguished. An epitome of his work was published at Oxford in the year 1775, under the care of Dr Woide, who subjoined a list of words in the Sahidic dialect, that of Upper Egypt*.

From these sources we derive the ancient Egyptian, greatly injured, no doubt, by the lapse of time, and suffering under the foreign garb of the Greek alphabet: for, if the natives had an alphabet, which is at least barely probable, it never was used in the version of the Scriptures. All the changes, which appear in the Coptic alphabet, are one or two charac-

* Both the dialects of the Coptic, or at least some part of the Scriptures in both, are now before the public But an illustration of the topography of Egypt, and of the Coptic names of men and places, a work greatly wanted, has not yet appeared.

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ters, invented to represent sounds, unknown in the language from which it was taken. The names of the letters are also corrupted.

The Arabic language (for the Hebrew is only an old dialect of it) is well known from every Polyglot lexicon; and, after comparing the Coptic with this very ancient tongue, I hesitate not to affirm, that they are totally different in words, accidence, and in every point which could induce a sound reasoner to conclude, that they ever sprung from the same original.

It is not from a predilection for a science reputed so devoid of reason and certainty as etymology, that I enter into any dissertation on words or language. It is from a conviction, that similarity of language is the best proof of the common origin of nations, and such a proof as will illustrate, above any other monument, the history of mankind, even admitting that no other relic existed. A striking and radical similarity to the language of England, in any dialect of Otaheite or New Zealand, would, in spite of the interval of so many lands and seas, and more than half the globe, confirm the fact, that either the one nation was derived from the other, or both from the same common original. In the present case, Ethiopia is nearer to Egypt than Arabia; and the only reasons for the received opinion are, the genealogy given by Moses, and the hasty conclusion, that the focus of ancient population was between the Euphrates and Tigris.

The narrative of so sacred and ancient a historian, I neither intend to refute nor question. Taking his account of the creation as stated in his own works, I only mean to observe, that the Arabic, or, what is the same thing, the Hebrew, must have been the language of Adam and all his immediate descendants. Moses expressly says, that the name of Paradise was Eden, which every one knows to signify Pleasure. The first man is called Adam, because he was made of (âphar min haădūmah) dust of the *red* earth. Eve was called by her husband Hawah, the causer of life; because she was, says the historian, the mother of all living. Eve, too, is recorded, in the same narrative, to have called her first born son Cain: because she said, "*kanithi* ish eth Jehoa," I have gotten a man from the Lord; and appears to have called her second Habel, a word known to sig-

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nify Vanity. When this son was murdered by his brother, she called her third child, born after that event, Seth; because the Lord (sath) had given her another seed instead of Abel. Thus Moses etymologizes to our hand the words Eve, Cain, and Seth, from sentences spoken by the persons themselves, and, evidently, in their own language. We are left to find out the meaning of the rest, which, to a scholar, is indeed easy. The signification of the names of the children of Cain, such as Mehuiael, Hanoch, Naamah, &c. may be made out with great certainty; but what is most remarkable of all, is three lines in verse, spoken by Lamech, the descendant of Cain, exactly in the same measure and form with the blessing of Jacob, Gen. chap. xlix. The names of the line of Seth are all evidently Hebrew; some of them compounded with the word El, God. The last of that line before the deluge, Noh, was called so by his father, because, he said, this child will comfort us (inahmenu) for the toil of our hands on the ground which the Lord hath cursed.

After the flood, Noah spoke a series of verses concerning his three sons, which we know to be the *ipsissima verba* of that patriarch, from the use made of the word Japhet (Yapht Elohim leyephet), God shall enlarge Japhet; for the name of this son signifies enlarged. To this short summary of facts (the list might be much augmented), let us add the well-known custom of the writer, who tells the reason why Abraham, Sarai, Isaac, Jacob, and his twelve children received their respective names, in the same manner that he relates those already mentioned. The conclusion is very plain; and shortly this; either the Hebrew language was the language of Paradise, or reason cannot be employed in forming any scriptural criticism.

But long before the time of Moses, Egypt had a language different from that of Arabia. Abimelech, the king of Gerar, bore an Arabic name; but Pharaoh, the title of the king of the two Messirs, viz. Upper and Lower Egypt, was Coptic in the days of Abraham. I have repeated, in another place, names which plainly show that this tongue was then formed into its present state. Joseph spoke by an interpreter to his brethren, and the strange language of Egypt is often mentioned in Scripture. It is called loez, which signifies stammering and barbarous; an epithet never given to any dialect of the general language of Syria and Palestine.

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It cannot be doubted that the Coptic was the prevailing language of all Egypt. It was spoken in the Pathros, or upper country, as well as in the Delta; nor is there a single name of an ancient Egyptian city or deity, which is not derived from it. There were two dialects, which varied slightly from one another.

The Coptic has all the marks of an original language, but it has some features in common with the Arabic. These we shall mention first, as it is far from my intention to maintain any opinion whatsoever, at the expence of truth.

1. Most of the radical nouns and verbs are short words, rarely consisting of more than four letters, one of which is a vowel; in this particular it resembles the Arabic, in the oldest dialects of which the root generally consisted of three consonants and one or two vowels.

2. Verbs and nouns are declined, in both these languages, by fragments of articles, prepositions, and pronouns, either prefixed or affixed to the root. In Hebrew, which is the oldest Arabic dialect, the cases of the nouns are formed by prepositions; and the persons of the verbs, by fragments of the pronouns prefixed to the radical for the future, and affixed to it for the preterite. None of all the Arabic dialects have, properly speaking, any present tense; nor any modes, but the indicative and imperative. The Coptic possesses a present, preterite, and future, each characterised by prefixes through all the numbers and persons; besides some tenses, which seem to be formed from these, by incorporating a conjunction with their respective prefixes.

3. Adjectives become feminine by adding to them *t*, which is the case in Hebrew and Arabic. Plurals are sometimes made by adding to the noun *ou;* which may be thought a corruption of *in* or *oun,* in Arabic.

4. A small list of radicals, out of the whole mass of the language, resembles the same in Hebrew: For instance, C. moou, water, H. maim; C. iom, the sea, H. iam; C. molh, salt, Heb. malah; C. mou, death, Heb. mûth; phorj, to divide, H. pharats, &c.; which may be increased to the amount of a hundred or more; and, after that is done, there is not a vestige of resemblance existing between the two languages.

The Coptic is an original tongue, for it derives all its in-

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declinable words and particles from radicals pertaining to itself. Its verbs are declined from its own resources: There is no mixture of any foreign language in its composition, excepting Greek, which is easily distinguished, and as easily accounted for. Those who are inclined to satisfy themselves thoroughly with regard to the assertions here made, may, after a competent knowledge of the languages in question, compare the Arabic and Coptic together, word for word, and state their reasons for a contrary opinion, with the same desire to promote truth with which these are offered to their consideration*.

But, granting that the Arabic and Coptic were once similar, and from the same origin, let us reflect how long a period is necessary to make them as unlike as they are now; or, to generalize the question, What length of time is required to make a dialect lose all marks of its parent language? It may be safely allowed, that the family of Noah spoke the same language in the ark. According to the Septuagint, 1201 years elapsed between the deluge and the emigration of Abraham; according to the common Hebrew, only 426: according to the best computation, more than 4000 years have now elapsed since the flood; yet there is not a dialect of any one original language, however mixed with other tongues, that has lost all the tokens of its descent. Dialects of the Gothic, which have been separated from their original several thousands of years, still retain these characters. There is not an insulated Arabian jargon, which does not establish the fact beyond any possibility of doubt. In short, it is impossible to state the time in which a language will be totally changed. It may be entirely superseded by one, it may be mixed with two or three foreign tongues, so as to retain its words, but lose its construction and declension. Still the voice of the multitude triumphs over that of conquest itself; as may be proved by many an instance. But the Coptic was a language distinct from Hebrew a few centuries after the flood; which therefore shews, that Egypt was not peopled from Arabia.

* The Coptic has borrowed Greek nouns and verbs in considerable numbers, but it has always subdued them to its own grammar and construction.

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One objection to this conclusion may be readily made: The Coptic was one of the tongues formed at Babel. I have shown, that the Arabic, or Hebrew, was, according to Moses, the first language of mankind. It follows, of course, that all other original languages are of later origin; and, as the Egyptian was a different tongue so soon after the flood, it may be asserted, that it was the oldest product of the confusion.

But men, who are accustomed to discover truth by the patient road of analysis, are not easily persuaded to embrace a general opinion, which explains, by a mystery, all things at once. This is not the place for discussing the account of the tower of Babel, which is as probable, when told by Moses, as absurd, when applied to solve the phenomena it is usually brought forward to explain. An inquirer after truth finds groups of nations, divided as it were, into families, having a common language; and concludes, that they are descended from the same parent. He finds others, whose languages are radically different in every particular; and, knowing that savages are not accustomed to make any fundamental change, his researches close in this mortifying uncertainty; They are probably aboriginal; for their language is like no other which is known; and their manners are peculiar to themselves. A savage tribe has either lived from the flood in this country, or transferred into a happier soil the words, religion, and customs, which their fathers formed in the desert. Those who choose to embrace the miraculous origin of tongues, repose more comfortably on the dogma, that Mezraim (i. e. the two Egypts) the son of Ham (or Chemi, the Lower Egypt), being active at the tower of Babel, a building which he proposed to raise to heaven, got a strange language for his ambition, and the fertile banks of the Nile for a place of banishment.

II. If Egypt was not peopled from Arabia, its inhabitants were either indigenous, or tribes from the Lybian desert on the west, or the country south of Syene. The two last opinions are most agreeable to historical evidence.

1. It is allowed by most historians and naturalists, that Lower Egypt was once a marsh under the waters of the sea; and that the time was, when the Delta was quite uninhabited. This tradition was derived from the Egyptian priests, and seems to be perfectly confirmed by actual obser-

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vation. The fact has, indeed, been disputed by Mr Bruce with great justice, if we suppose that the Delta is totally formed by the mud of the Nile. But the truth is, the Delta was formed by a retreating sea, a case very common on many coasts. The mud of the Nile undoubtedly accelerated this retreat, and raised a black soil over the sands. For, however level the coast, it is no extraordinary phenomenon to observe it gradually deserted by the ocean, which often gains on the land in another quarter. Such is the case in Phœnicia, on the east coast of Italy, and in many other places of the globe. The Egyptian shore is very low; the Nile is a muddy stream; and the Etesian winds blow against its influx during certain seasons of the year; yet still it may be doubted, if all the mud, accummulated by the ordinary means, in the space of five thousand years, could have produced the Delta. However that may be, the Delta, from Cairo to the Mediterranean, was once a marsh; which was drained and peopled by the inhabitants of the Thebaid. The priests informed Diodorus, that their ancestors lived in Upper Egypt, in a savage state, like the neighbouring Troglodytæ, before Osiris founded Thebes, the oldest city in their kingdom. These well-known facts—that the early seat of population was the Thebaid, that the Lower Egypt was a marsh, which the industry of a people, already more civilized than any nation we read of, gradually rendered inhabitable, prove that the Egyptians were descended from tribes which dwelt near the cataracts, whose language and manners they evidently retained. Thebes in Upper Egypt, Memphis and Heliopolis on the borders of the Delta, were founded before the days of Moses, by those industrious husbandmen, who had already advanced so far in the useful arts, as to render their country the granary of the surrounding nations.

If the builders of the Babylonian tower had actually wandered as far as Egypt after that dispersion, it cannot be supposed that they would have forgotten their aspiring architecture, which threatened heaven, to dwell in cottages, or caves of the rocks. The first specimen of their labours must have been a city. But, allowing that the Egyptian priests were misinformed; that the hieroglyphics in the caverns of the Thebaid, which must have painted the situation of those who first applied their chissel to the rock, were unintelli-

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gible to a class of men, professionally devoted to the study of them, let us suppose that Mezraim, the son of Ham, built the city of Amoun. Thebes was situated on the east bank of the Nile, in about 25° 30′ N. Lat.; Memphis stood a little to the north of the modern village Gise, which is under the parallel of 30 degrees; and the Delta begins a considerable number of miles to the north of Memphis. Between Thebes and Memphis, there is, therefore, a distance of 4 degrees and a half, about 270 geometrical miles, well watered, inhabitable country along both sides of the Nile. Yet over all this space wandered the unfortunate malecontents of Babel, to found their first city on a barren spot, which bordered on the desert, and dig their tombs in the rocks of the wilderness.

III. In confirmation of the preceding remarks, we may add the positive testimony of ancient history, which declares the Ethiopians and Egyptians to be the same people. We learn from Diodorus, Book III. that the Ethiopians considered the Egyptians as a colony from their country of Meroe, at a time when the Delta was a marsh of the Nile. The Ethiopians were accounted the most religious and ancient of nations, both in Egypt and Greece. They used, in ordinary practice, the sacred hieroglyphical character, known only in Egypt among the priests*. Their system of religion was more simple than the Egyptian, but in nature the same. The writings of Diodorus positively assert the fact, which receives great confirmation from the conduct of Sabaco, the Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt. Sabaco, about the time of Hosea, the last king of Israel, obtained the sceptre of the Pharaohs by conquest, and committed many acts of cruelty on the native princes. One of these, Bocchoris, he burnt alive; another, Necho, the father of Psammetichus, was murdered by his orders; while Anysis, a third, escaped into the marshes of the Delta. The Ethiopian was scarcely superior to Cambyses in point of mercy; but no part of his vengeance attacked the religion of Egypt. He beautified the cities, improved the country, encouraged the sacerdotal order, built temples, and administered the laws of the kingdom in a manner which placed him in the highest rank of patriotic sove-

* They worshipped Osiris and Amoun in Ethiopia, who are called Bacchus and Jupiter by Herodotus.

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reigns. After he had governed Egypt 50 years, he dreamed that the rest of his reign would be unhappy, if he did not massacre the whole order of priests. But so far was he from yielding to that temptation, which was probably nothing but a political idea, that he convoked the principal people amongst his subjects, informed them of their dreadful situation, and the measures which he had concerted. He then, by a voluntary resignation of the crown, relieved them from every fear, and departed immediately into Ethiopia. The piety of Sabaco was not forgotten with his government. The destined victims of his ambition, who were saved by his mercy, recorded his name as second only to that of Sesostris.

The conduct of Sabaco is an excellent illustration of the facts recorded by Diodorus. Had the gods of Ethiopia been different from those of Egypt, had the tenets of the two religions been opposite to one another, this conqueror would have acted like Cambyses. He would have slaughtered the priests as well as the princes; he would have burnt the temples, butchered the sacred animals, and mutilated the obelisks. Long before the time of his abdication of the throne, the priests would have found in him a tyrant, who would not, on their account, have resigned the smallest gratification.

Only one objection to these arguments remains to be examined. It may be said, that these Ethiopians about Meroe were originally an Egyptian colony. It cannot be doubted, that large bodies of Egyptians deserted into that region during the last ages of the Egyptian monarchy; but it appears from Diodorus, that although the religion and manners of the two nations were similar, yet their difference was perceptible to an observer, and seemed to be the consequence of separate change and improvement. As we have no remains of the Ethiopic language, we cannot judge how far it resembled the Coptic, or whether it was different. Many of the names of the ancient towns on the Nile, from Souan to Meroe, as given by Pliny, are evidently Egyptian. Tacompsos, Pides, Primmis, Pemmas, Nupsis, Daselis, Pselchis, Pthuris, Tama, Pitara, and several more, are of this original. The antient importance of the kingdom of Meroe seems to be fully established: And the list of antient towns, in the same historian, compared with the solitude of the route from Syene to Meroe, in the time of Nero, sufficiently confirms

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the reflection made by him on the subject, "that Ethiopia, ruling and obeying in its turn, was wasted by Egyptian wars." It is therefore uncertain, whether the kingdom of Ethiopia was a colony from Egypt, or the Egyptian a colony from Meroe. But the points which have been attempted to be proved from the preceding arguments, are precisely these:

Egypt was not peopled from Arabia, as is commonly believed. For,

1. The Coptic and Arabic languages are radically different, and were so in the days of Abraham.

2. The religion of Egypt (as has been shown elsewhere) is older than the days of Joseph; and bears internal marks of having been the native product of that country.

3. Egypt was peopled from south to north, from the Thebaid. For the Delta, that part of Egypt contiguous to Arabia, seems to have been originally uninhabitable, except a small space about the extremities of the marsh; and history assures us, that the inhabitants of Upper Egypt descended, and drained the country.

4. It is improbable, that an Arabian colony under Mesraim (a word which does not signify a man, but two kingdoms), would have crossed Syria from Babylon by the Isthmus of Suez, and wandered so far south as Thebes to found its first settlement.

Egypt was peopled by tribes, whose first place of residence was near the cataracts, whence they descended progressively into the low country. For,

1. The national history attests, that the first Egyptians dwelt in cottages, and fed on herbs, like the Troglodytæ in Ethiopia; that they were civilized by degrees; and that Thebes was their first city. The priests were fully competent to decide this from the sculpture in the primitive caves near that city; and too proud to acknowledge their humble origin, had it not been an established fact.

2. It is recorded by antient writers, that the Ethiopians and Egyptians were the same people originally; that the religion of Ethiopia was reckoned very pure in Egypt, whence that opinion was propagated in Greece; and that the Ethiopian kings paid great respect to the Egyptian superstition, which is a proof that it was not materially different from their own.

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To this extent, the theory, in these volumes, may be powerfully defended. But that part of it, which ascribes the rise of the Indian trade to the Cushites, the posterity of Cush the son of Ham; and the carrying of it on to the Shepherds, the descendents of Phut, is liable to many objections in point of accuracy and historical evidence. The commerce, which at last extended to India and Ethiopia, seems to have arisen in the Arabian peninsula. Gold, silver, gems, and spices, were brought from Hawilah, Cush, and other districts near the Persian gulf, into Egypt, which was civilized at an early period, and became a mart for these articles of commerce. Myrrh, balsam, and incense, were carried by the Ishmaelite, not the Cushite Arabs, into the same country. When it was gradually discovered that India, and the cinnamon-bearing region of Africa, opposite to the mercantile Cushite kingdoms afforded these productions in larger quantity, the trade was increased; the caravans of Sheba and Saba multiplied their numbers and journies; navigation was improved in the hands of the Phœnicians, and commerce both by sea and land organized into a vast and regular system*.

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* For the state of antient Egypt consult Herodoti historia, lib. ii. passim; Diodori Siculi Biblioth. Hist. lib. i. c. 10—37, and section 2d, c. 43—98. For the language, Kircheri Prodromus Copt. et Ling. Ægypt. Restituta; also La Croze, lex. Ægyptico-Lat.; Woide's Fragmenta Novi Testamenti Sahidici. The treatise by Plutarch de Isi et Osiride is particularly instructive; and the short explanation of the hieroglyphics by Horus Apollo. Other authorities are also current. In the second edition I inserted a dissertation on the antient history of Egypt, intended to support the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton and Mr Bruce, that Sesostris and Shishak were the same person. That dissertation, after having occasionally considered the subject of it for many years, I now withdraw, and accede to the opinion of the best chronologists, that Sesostris began to reign 135 years after the death of Moses, and 1356 before Christ. He was succeeded by Pheron or Sesostris II., Proteus, Rampsinite, Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, of whom the three last built the pyramids. Cheops died 60 years before Saul became king of Israel, and 1128 before Christ. The largest pyramid has stood 2939 years.

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No. III.

Concluding Remarks on the History and Language of Egypt.

The chronology of the world, so far as it is to be ascertained by history, depends on the writings of Moses, by descent a Chaldean, born and educated in Egypt, a man destined to be the legislator of his race, and the instrument of Providence in promoting the greatest and best interests of mankind. His birth must be placed 1611 years before Christ; he lived 120 years. The chronology found in his writings, has been corrupted by those who copied or translated the text. He was intimately acquainted with Egypt; and his notices of that country remount three or four centuries beyond his own time. He was no stranger to the solar year of 12 months of thirty days; and though he does not mention the Egyptian addition of five days to each of three years, and of six to each fourth year, it seems to be implied. The era of the Egyptian astronomy, in so far as relates to the solar year, is therefore very antient. Moses reckons the period of the deluge according to the Egyptian solar year. By his own appointment, the Jews used lunar months and years, and deserted the Egyptian accuracy. He relates that the king of Egypt was called Pharaoh (Pha-ouro) "the king," (which was pronounced Pha-ŭ-rô) in the days of Abraham. Thus the Coptic, or that language which has been transmitted to our times, was spoken in the days of Abraham; or if the authority of Moses be disputed, as to former ages, at least in his own times. Môou-si is water-drawn, that is, drawn from the river: The town which the Hebrew slaves built for their tyrant sovereign, was Pi-thôm the fortification; the district where they lived was Enjé-sem, or as it is written by the LXX. Gesèm "the grass," or land of grass, the region where the king's cattle pastured.

The language of the Cushites, and of all the Arabian tribes in that peninsula, was what has been called Hebrew,

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Assyrian, Arabian, or Abyssinian, from being used in different dialects by nations so called. It is not related to the Egyptian. The reader who aims at precision in these antient matters, must distinguish several races of men on the coasts of the Red Sea, or in the countries adjacent to it.

1. The Assyrians, Chaldeans, Jews, Phoenicians, including all the Canaanitish tribes, the Arab tribes of the north, including the descendants of Ishmael and Lot, and the descendants of Cush and Joctan, partly in the north and chiefly in the south near the Indian Ocean. The colony of Arabs from Hamyar or Sheba, who settled about Axum, were of Beni Joctan; the Geez dialect, or written Abyssinian, is their tongue. All these nations now enumerated were one race. Their colour was red and swarthy; their features regular; and their hair not woolly, but black and lank.

2. The Copts, said by Moses to be the sons of Mesraim, which is an Arabic, not a native name, and signifies the two Messirs, viz. Upper and Lower Egypt. Lower Egypt was called by the natives Chêmi, low ground, and Upper Egypt, Ma-rês the part of the south, or Pa-tho-rês (Pathros, a name used by Moses), the region of the south, or upper country. The antient Egyptians were a short, ill-shaped, thick and copper-coloured, or red division of the species; less beautiful than the Arab race, more robust and fit for labour; their language little resembles any that has been transmitted to our times; they founded Thebes before the dawn of history; they were civilized and divided into casts, at least 2000 years before Christ; they appear to have had a religion fully formed, and even verging into a more corrupted state in the days of Joseph. Among their tenets were the eternity of the supreme spirit, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, a future state of rewards and punishments, along with very accurate sentiments as to morals. They had a considerably clear notion of the solar system, and of some other parts of science. Their efforts in the arts, particularly in architecture were great, and made at the expense of enslaving the community. They were at one period distinguished for military enterprise, and founded colonies at Colchos and in Ethiopia. But it is a common error, to suppose, that the body of Coptic soldiers that deserted their king at Assouan and removed into Nubia, were the fathers of the Abyssinians.

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3. The people called Berber, or in antient times Lybians. These inhabited the country from Egypt to Morocco, and are still found in Fezzan, Siwah, and in the habitable parts of the great desert between the Niger and Barbary. Their language is not Arabic, nor is it Coptic, though perhaps it bears some affinity to the latter. This is the people called Lĕhâbim by Moses, and Lybians by the Greeks. They are the aborigines of the north of Africa.

4. The people originally along the western shores of the Red Sea, called by the Greeks Troglodytes, by the Hebrews Sûchiim. They lived on fish and dwelt in caves. Their posterity are at present found about Souaken, and in the south of Atbara, and seem to be the people called Taka, or Taka Hallanga. They have a peculiar language, not of Arabic descent, nor probably Coptic. They are not black, but tawny or red.

5. The native black Africans, called in Abyssinia Shankala, Begla, and Belowé, at Senaar Fungi and Shilook, above Sennaar Nûba, and at the head of the White River Ferteet and Donga. They are jet black, strong made, woolly-haired and thick-lipped. They are the aborigines of that part of Africa, and possibly the parents of all that singular species of men. This race was called Cushites, or Ethiopians, by the Hebrews and Syrians. These blacks have been driven into the mountains by the Arabs, in many places, especially near Darfoor, which is an Arab principality. They have experienced a like fate on the Niger, at Tombuctoo and in that vicinity, where the Arabic tribes have also penetrated. The black nations of the Mandinga and Yalofe name, are probably of this race. The language of the Abyssinian and the other negro nations, is in a manner totally unknown, so that the unity, as a race, of those widely extended tribes, has its probable, but uncertain proof, in their physical appearance. Yet the Hindoos are black, though not woolly-haired; and we are certain that they and the African negroes are not of the same stock.

6. Around the lake of Dembea, and in many parts of Habbesh, there is an original race that are not black, but copper-coloured, who are the aborigines of that district, or at least were its inhabitants before it was possessed by the

Axûmite Arabs. They were once independent in Dembea and Samen. They speak a peculiar language, of which a specimen is given in Vol. VIII. of this work. They were converted to the Jewish faith before the time of Christianity, and most of them refused the latter religion. They are called by the Abyssinians Falasha or dissenters, persons who have *declined* to embrace Christianity, and have retired from those who profess it.

7. Another original race, as appears by their language, are the Agows. They were settled in their present territory at the head of the Abawi, in the time of the emperor Justin. How long they had occupied that district before his time is unknown. Their language is peculiar to themselves. They are divided into the Agows of Lasta and of Saccala. They are not negroes, but are of a coarse tawny red colour.

8. The Galla, who but lately emerged from the heart of Africa, and came by the coast, or from Adel into Abyssinia. They speak a peculiar language, are very numerous, and are not negroes.

The above enumeration shews the extreme impropriety of confounding races naturally different, and allied in nothing except vicinity. Most of these races were nomadic, or in the shepherd state; many of them remain in it; and yet they have no affinity to one another. The sole means of obtaining a rational knowledge of the approximation of these races, and indeed of the early history of mankind, are:

1. To obtain adequate specimens of the languages, and particularly of those spoken by the tribes in mountainous and insulated regions.

2. To compare these specimens with languages already known, or with one another, and to examine the grammatical structure as well as single terms.

3. To fix by these inquiries the proximate or remote affinity, and so determine how many races have existed in any continent, how many varieties appear of each race, and whether it be true, which has been so absurdly taken for certain, that all languages have a radical resemblance in terms.

This process, applied to the Coptic and Arabic, or Hebrew, gives a result which declares, that the Arabs, or Assyrians, and the Egyptians, are not of the same race. And that the ordinary reader, if he choose, may satisfy himself

on a subject which has been considered, with far too little attention, by the most erudite inquirers, I shall subjoin three translations of a well known form of prayer, and make some remarks on the principal words. The first specimen is Hebrew, the dialect of Moses and Job; the version is modern, but as to words it is unexceptionable. The second is Geez, or Axumite, made soon after the year 330, in Habbesh; and as the Arabic of the north is known only by a few poems, not much older than 550, this dialect of Hamyar and Habbesh deserves a preference to it. The third is probably of the second century; it is in the language of the Pharoahs, which may be traced in Egypt from the age of Abraham.

Hebrew.

Abînû asher be-shâmeim, yikkaddesh
Father our who in the heavens, let be hallowed
shmeca; Tabô malcûteca, yehî ressônca
name thine let come kingdom thine, let be pleasure thine
ki-be-shameim ûbâréss. Et lahménû temidénû
as in heavens also in earth. The bread our to day our
tén lanû hai-yôm. Wa-âzôb lanû et mashâôt eynû
give to us this day and remit to us the debts our
ca-asher gem nahnû ozebeim lannôshénû wa-al
as that also we remitting to debtors ours and not
tebîénû lemassah ki-im tassîlénû me-raá.
bring us to trial but also free us from evil.

Ethiopic.

Abûna za-be-samâiyat, yetakaddasa semeca;
Father our who in heavens let be sanctified name thy
temussé mengesteca; wa-yecûn fekâdeca bekema
let come kingdom thy and let be will thy as
be-samâï kemâhu be-midreni. Sisâyâne za-lela-eletna
in heaven so in earth also. Meat of each day our
hebna yûme Wa-hadug lena abessâna
give us to day And remit to us sins our
wagégâyâna kema nahnani nuhdug
and transgressions our as we also we remit
le-za-abasa. i-tâbana wasta mensût alla
to who has sinned. Not make come us into trial but
aduhenena wa-bâlhena em-coulu ecûi
save us and deliver us from all ill.

The affinity between these dialects appears in many of the principal words, but particularly in the grammatical

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structure and the inflexions. In fact the Hebrew, Arabic, and Geez, are one language, which possesses a great variety of dialects and opulence of terms; and these leading dialects bear to one another the very same relation which German or Dutch bears to English or Swedish. All the words belong to the common original, but they are varied by pronunciation, and restricted to different shades of meaning in each dialect.

The Coptic.

Peniôt et hen ni-phéûi mareftûbo
The our father who in the heavens let it be hallowed
endge pe-c-ran maresì endje te-c-metouro
that the thy name. let it come that the thy kingdom;
Petehnâc marefshôpi em-phredì hen etphé
the will thy let it be done in manner in the heaven
nemhi djen pi-câhi. Pe-n-ôik ente rasdi meïf-nan
also on the earth. The our bread of the day give us
em-phô-ou ouoh chanéeteron nan èbol emphredì ho
to day and give debts our to us up in manner as
entén-cho-ebol néetouon ente-nerôou Emperenten ahoun
we give up debtors of to them Not us lead
è pirasmos, alla nahmen ebolhen pi-pethôou:
into temptation but free us from the evil *.

Except a slight resemblance in the pronouns, which is not greater between Coptic and Hebrew than between Coptic and some other languages, the affinity of these two antient tongues is not perceptible. Their grammar is totally different. Hebrew and Arabic verbs and nouns follow a similar method. The Coptic pursues one which is simple enough, but peculiar to itself. It uses compounds, which is not the genius of the Arabic or Hebrew. The demonstrative articles are phi, phe pi or pha for masculines and ti, ta, the or te for feminines singular; ne or ni is prefixed to plurals. The sense of these words is "the": when the sense is partial or restricted to one or to some, ou a

* Some of the version given above is probably not so accurate as might be wished, as I have not a dictionary nor other assistance at hand. I crave the indulgence that is sometimes granted to those who are willing to do that service under obvious disadvantages, which others ought to perform that are surrounded by every opportunity.

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contraction of ouai one is used. So pha-ourô the king; ni-ourô the kings, but ou-ourô a king. As in all original languages, so in Coptic, the same words are articles, demonstratives and relatives: Pi-rômi the man, phai pi-rômi this man. Thai is this, feminine: phe is who, masc. singular, and né is who, plural. Nouns are often preceded by n-ge, or endjé, as it is pronounced, so nje-sem grass, by the LXX. written Gesèm, and by the Jews (who corrupted the Coptic names) Geshen or Goshen *. The genitive is made by nte, or n, and if certain letters follow, n becomes m: So pi-kàhi nte Chêmi, the land of the low country or north of Egypt; the land of Ham as called by the Jews: Ma-n-Amoun the place of the God of light, or Jupiter Ammon; Ma-n-nouphi, the city or place of the good God; names of Thebes and Memphis. Other cases are made by prepositions, of which are all the words of relation used in Coptic. The prefix nte, therefore, often serves as a dative and accusative, as well as a genitive. The personal pronouns are anoc I, anon we; entoc thou, masc. entho thou, fem. enthôten you; entof he, entós she, enthôou they, which in a contracted form, are singularly inserted between the article and the noun so as to become possessives, and before the verb, which is frequently a short and almost immutable word, that they may express persons. So in the specimen above, p-en-iôt is the our father, pe-ten-iôt your father, pek-iôt thy father, pa-iot for pe-ai-iot my father, pe-f-iot his father: ni-iot the fathers, naiot my fathers, ne-c-iot thy fathers, ne-n-iot our fathers, nefiot his fathers, nesiot her fathers, ne-ten-iot your fathers, nou-iot their fathers: phe-ran the name, pe-c-ran thy name; ti-met-ouro the kingdom, te-c-metouro thy kingdom; ôïk bread, pe-n-oik our bread; and so on.

* The Jews did not write the Coptic names with any great degree of accuracy. The meaning of Sophnath-paaneh, or as the LXX. have it, Psontom phanech, is rather obscure, and Pihont-mphre, the name of "the priest of the sun," is written by Moses Pôtti-phĕrê. The words, On, "light," and Yaro, "the river Nile," are more accurate. Perhaps the transcribers have corrupted the Coptic terms in the Pentateuch. The LXX. corrected some of these from their knowledge of Egypt, rather than of the Egyptian, for they certainly were not very accomplished critics either in Hebrew or in any other language.

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The verb saji, say or speak, is inflected in this manner. *Present* tense: Ei-saji I speak, ec-saji, ef-saji, es-saji (she speaks) en-saji we speak, teten-saji you speak, eu-saji they speak. *Preterite* ai-saji, ac-saji, af-saji, in the plural an-saji, areten-saji, and au-saji I, thou, he, we, you, they spoke. There are in each tense second and third persons feminine singular.

Future, sing. eie-saji, eke-saji, efe-saji; plur. nen-saji, ereten-saji, eue-saji. There are seven or eight other tenses, mostly of a conditional or subjunctive sense, which are made by joining the words E that, *na* when or after, *sha* because *ete* who, and the like to the pronouns which precede any of the above tenses; so shai-saji *because* I have spoken. The most curious of these secondaries is the imperative, which is often found in the specimen given above. So mari-saji let me speak, marec-saji speak thou, mare-saji, speak thou woman; maref-saji let him speak, mares-saji let her speak, maren-saji, maretensaji, marou-saji, let us, you, them speak.

As this language was native to the inhabitants of Upper and Lower Egypt in the times of Abraham and Moses, nothing requires to be added to the conclusion already drawn, that the Egyptians were a very antient race, not of Arabic extraction, except a recommendation to the learned, that they cultivate the study of this venerable tongue, and illustrate by its assistance, united with other philological and historical resources, the progressive state of that nation, which has given its opinions and science to every quarter of the globe.

It has been said by Sir William Jones, that the Egyptians were a kindred race of the Hindoos, Greeks, and Goths. I have not as yet been able to confirm or disprove this important opinion. If it should happen, on examination, to be just, it will lead to some inferences of great consequence that have not yet occurred to the learned; and whatever direct result may attend the progress of this inquiry, it cannot fail to produce memorable notices respecting the history of language and the origin of mankind.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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